Introducing India

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INDIAN COUNCIL FOR CULTURAL RELATIONS

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I

Aryan, Non-Aryan Synthesis

The Indian sub-continent was the home of one of the earliest civilizations of man. It flourished for a thousand years from around 2700 B.C., and had trade and cultural relations with ancient Sumeria. After lying buried under sand and soil, the evidence of this civilization came to light only in the 'twenties of this century as the result of excavations carried out in the Indus Valley by the Archaeological Survey of India under Sir John Marshall.

The excavations were in delayed follow-up of the discovery in 1856, by John and William Brunton, who were engaged in building the East Indian Railway from Karachi to Lahore, of huge dusty mounds under which were burnt bricks which they found useful as ballast. Stuart Piggott in his book on *Prehistoric India* quotes from the memoirs of John Brunton about one of the dead cities he had stumbled on: "I had been much exercised in my mind how we were to get ballast for the line of the Railway. If all I heard were true, this ruined city, built of bricks, would form a grand quarry for ballast."

Indus Valley Civilization

The principal sites of the pre-Aryan Indian civilization uncovered by Marshall and his colleague R.D. Banerji were Harappa (in West Punjab) and Mohenjodaro (in Sind), both now

in Pakistan. It has come to be known as the Indus Valley civilization because, though it was urban and literate, the script remains undeciphered. We do not know to what name its people answered.

Indus and India, Hindi (denoting both the language and its speakers), Hindu, Hindustan, and Sind (the province in which the Indus flows into the Arabian Sea on the north-west coast of the sub-continent)—all these are Persianized or Anglicized forms of Sindhu, the Sanskrit name for the mighty river which rises in the Himalayas. During subsequent decades many more sites of the civilization have been discovered in places, in post-Partition India, as far apart as Gujarat (including the remains of a dockyard at Lothal), Rajasthan, Haryana, East Punjab and Jammu. The extent of the civilization was thus much wider than the area indicated by the name it was first given and by which it has continued to be known. Some scholars find significant similarities between the people of this early civilization and the Dravidian races and culture of south India. Prince Peter of Greece, the anthropologist, sees Sumerian elements in the rituals and names of the deities of the Todas, a still surviving though diminishing tribe in the Nilgiri hills of south India.

The archaeological evidence at Mohenjodaro and Harappa, Kalibanga (Rajasthan) and Lothal shows excellent town planning and a highly developed drainage system. Most of the constructions are of burnt brick, and they include elaborately constructed granaries and public baths. Terracotta figurines depict textiles of beautiful design. Cotton appears to have been used for textiles at this early period only in India. A wealth of ornaments of gold, silver and precious stones, vessels of beaten copper, and of metal implements and weapons has been collected from the ruins.

There were economic and cultural contacts with Sumeria and Akkad. According to Gordon Childe, "Manufactures from the Indus cities reached even the markets on the Tigris and Euphrates. Conversely, a few Sumerian devices in art, Mesopotamian toilet sets, and a cylinder seal were copied on the Indus. Trade was not confined to raw materials and luxury articles; fish, regularly imported from the Arabian Sea coasts, augmented the food supplies of Mohenjodaro."

An interesting contrast with contemporary civilizations is

drawn by Marshall: "There is nothing that we know of in prehistoric Egypt or Mesopotamia or anywhere else in western Asia to compare with the well-built baths and commodious houses of the citizens of Mohenjodaro. In these countries much money and thought were lavished on the building of magnificent temples for the gods and on the palaces and tombs of kings, but the rest of the people seemingly had to content themselves with insignificant dwellings of mud. In the Indus Valley the picture is reversed, and the finest structures are those erected for the convenience of citizens."

What kind of religion did these people follow? It can only be inferred from the seals (such as those depicting a humped bull), figurines, tablets and other artifacts. They suggest that synthesis took place between the religion of this early civilization and that of the Aryans who came later. Besides relics which indicate that religious sanction was attached to certain animals, trees and auspicious symbols, there are terracotta figurines of pregnant females denoting a mother or earth goddess cult which developed into the various forms of Sakti worship of later Hinduism. There are also phallic symbols of stone and representations of a male god strongly suggestive of Siva, who is associated with the bull and is often represented by a tapering conical stone emblem, the Linga, symbolising creative energy as well as formlessness. In popular Hinduism today, Siva the non-Aryan deity and Vishnu the Aryan solar deity, along with Sakti, occupy the pride of place in the pantheon of countless gods and goddesses who are worshipped.

These linkages led Marshall to comment: "In the religion of the Indus people there is much, of course, that might be paralleled in other countries. This is true of every prehistoric and most historic religions as well. But, taken as a whole, their religion is so characteristically Indian as hardly to be distinguished from still living Hinduism."

This synthesis of non-Aryan and Aryan elements in the religion of the people was the first manifestation of the assimilative capacity of the Indian way of life which has struck every student of Indian history. Hellenic Persian and European influxes and influences to mention only the most considerable, were later to be absorbed in the same fashion. Spanning nearly 5000 years, India's history is the story of the mingling of a

variety of races and religions, languages and the arts, into an ethos that has been distinctively Indian

In the words of Jawaharlal Nehru in *The Discovery of India*, "Foreign influences poured in and often influenced that culture and were absorbed. Disruptive tendencies gave rise immediately to an attempt to find a synthesis. Some kind of a dream of unity has occupied the mind of India since the dawn of civilization. That unity was not conceived as something imposed from outside, a standardization of externals or even of beliefs. It was something deeper and, within its fold, the widest tolerance of belief and custom was practised and every variety acknowledged and even encouraged."

The Aryan Advent

Little is known of how and why the civilization of the Indus Valley ended. Perhaps it was due to a catastrophic flood, or a climatic change resulting in desiccation of cultivated land and the encroachment of the desert. Or perhaps the urban civilization, weakened by over-refinement, was run over by a more primitive but hardier people.

Whatever the case, the next epoch in Indian history is of the Aryans whose entry into the sub-continent is placed by scholars variously between 2000 and 1500 B.C. They are believed to have come from Bactria, through the passes of the Hindu Kush mountains, into Afghanistan and from there to the land of the Sindhu and its tributaries.

The Aryans (literally, the noble ones) were nomadic pastoralists to begin with. They gradually took to agriculture and the cow became their most precious animal. The northern plains were at that time thickly forested and agriculture required the clearing of the forests as a first step.

A vigorous people who ate meat, drank fermented liquor and indulged in gambling, the Aryans were also, as their literature shows, gifted with a highly poetic sensibility and the capacity for profound reflection on the nature of the universe and the meaning of human life. The language of this literature is an old form of Sanskrit which is allied to Persian, Greek, Latin, and to the Celtic and Slavonic tongues. The phonetic relation-

ship between, for instance, Pita of Sanskrit, 'pater' of Latin and 'father' of modern English, as of Mata, 'mater' and 'mother', strongly suggests derivation from a common parent speech which scholars describe as Indo-European.

The Aryans brought with them religious concepts revolving round a pantheon of naturalistic or functional gods with mythological counterparts in the traditions of Iran, Greece and Rome. Such are Agni, god of fire; heaven and earth as the divine parents; Varuna, god of rain and sustainer of the cosmic law; the goddess of dawn; and, most important of all the divinities, Indra, god of the atmosphere wielding the thunderbolt.

The religion of the Aryans gradually incorporated other concepts in the course of their eastward migration and encounter with the indigenous religious notions of the Indian sub-continent. Their ritual involved the sacrificial use of fire, based on the assumption that the gods had to be propitiated through a sacrifice for any demands made on them, and an exhilarating drink called Soma.

The literature of the Aryans consists of: (i) four collections of metrical hymnals known as the Rig, Yajur, Sama and Atharva Vedas; (ii) elaborate ritualistic prose commentaries thereon called the Brahmanas and Aranyakas; and (iii) symbolic interpretations of ritual and myth in various philosophical treatises which are collectively called the Upanishads. Composed over a millennium until about 500 B.C., this body of compositions, known as Vedic literature, was handed down from generation to generation through oral recitation till much after the advent of writing. It is so taught to this day among those who adhere strictly to the tradition which calls for correct enunciation according to musical scale, specially in the case of the Sama Veda.

The Caste System

The first three of the Vedas are sacerdotal in character, and deal mainly with the sacrificial rituals and accompanying incantations of the priests. The Aryan social order had four divisions: Brahmans (priests and scholars); Kshatriyas (kings and warriors); Vaisyas (traders), and Sudras (artisans and tillers of

the soil). Though occupational in origin, the system soon became hereditary. It also acquired the dimension of colour difference between the 'higher' and the 'lower' castes as the Aryans encountered and incorporated into their polity various groups of the darker-skinned indigenous population in the course of their eastward and southward expansion in the sub-continent.

The earliest reference to the four social orders occurs in the Rig Veda. Like many other primitive peoples, the Aryans saw the origin of the universe in a primeval sacrifice by a cosmic being, whom they called the Purusha:

> "When they divided Purusha, in how many different portions did they arrange him? What became of his mouth, what of his two arms? What were his two thighs and his two feet called?
>
> "His mouth became the Brahman; his two arms were made into the Rajanya (the kingly class); his two thighs the Vaisyas; from his two feet the Sudra was born."

Over the centuries the organic unity of the occupational orders developed into a complex and ramified system of innumerable castes and sub-castes, with the 'outsider' consigned beyond the pale as Mlechcha, an outcaste who was untouchable and even unworthy of sight or approach.

Social stratification is of course not unique to India. There has not been a society without class and socio-political hierarchies. What weakened Hindu society and made it vulnerable to challenge from outside was the ascription of ritual impurity to the Sudra, rendering him ineligible for study of the Vedas or for wearing the sacred thread which denotes the Aryan boy's "second birth" on initiation into sacred learning, and the inexorable fixation of caste by birth which ruled out the mobility essential for social health. They over-simplify who wholly ascribe the large-scale conversions to Islam, after the Muslim advent, to the threat of the sword, and to Christianity, during British rule, to material inducements.

The higher castes had a vested interest in perpetuating the system and they disregarded the humanistic counsel of their own sages. One of the earliest to deprecate the concept of high and

low according to the accident of birth was Yagnavalkya (about 700 B.C.): "It is not our religion, still less the colour of our skin, that produces virtue; virtue must be practised. Therefore, let no one do to others what he would not have done to himself." In the Chandogya Upanishad, Svetaketu is advised by his father: "Live the disciplined life of a student of sacred knowledge. No one, indeed, belonging to our family is unlearned in the Vedas and remains a Brahman only by family connections as it were."

Vedic Poetry

As Dr. S. Radhakrishnan says in *A Source Book in Indian Philosophy* (edited jointly with Charles Moore), "Three strata of development are found in the thought of the hymns of the Rig Veda: naturalistic polytheism, monotheism and monism... Different views of the spirit of these hymns are held by competent scholars They have been referred to as primeval child-like naive prayers, as the allegorical representation of the attributes of the supreme Deity, as sacrificial compositions of a primitive race which attached great importance to ceremonial rites, as altogether allegorical, or as somewhat naturalistic. These varying opinions need not be looked upon as antagonistic, for they only point to the heterogeneous nature of the Rig Veda collection."

The Aryans lived as part of nature, not apart from it. The Rig Veda has many moving passages celebrating nature's beauty. Here is Macdonell's translation of a hymn on the dawn:

> This light has come, of all the lights the fairest:
> The brilliant brightness has been born effulgent.
> Urged onward for god Savitar's (sun's) uprising,
> Night now has yielded up her place to morning.
>
> Bringing a radiant calf she comes resplendent:
> To her the Black One has given up her mansions.
> Akin, immortal, following each other,
> Morning and Night fare on, exchanging colours.

The sisters' pathway is the same, unending:
Taught by the gods alternately they tread it.
Fair-shaped, of form diverse, yet single-minded,
Morning and Night clash not, nor do they tarry.

Bright leader of glad sounds she shines effulgent·
Widely she has unclosed for us her portals.
Pervading all the world she shows us riches·
Dawn has awakened every living creature.

Men lying on the ground she wakes to action:
Some rise to seek enjoyment of great riches,
Some, seeing little, to behold the distant:
Dawn has awakened every living creature.

Daughter of Heaven, she has appeared before us,
A maiden shining in resplendent raiment.
Thou sovereign lady of all earthly treasure,
Auspicious Dawn, shine here today upon us.

Not for the Aryan, the Rig Veda proclaims, the world-weariness of asceticism and retreat from the responsibilities and rewards of life in society: "What is the use of dirt, of goat-skin, of long hair, of sick fervour? A sonless person cannot attain heaven. The delights in the earth, the delights in the fire, the delight in the waters, greater than these is that of a father in the son." When the father takes his son in his arms, he utters this benediction: "From each limb of mine are you born. You are born especially from my heart. You are my own self bearing the name son. May you live for a hundred autumns!"

Speculation on the origin of the universe sometimes touches a sceptical note: "Wherefrom this creation has issued, whether he has made it or whether he has not, he who is the superintendent of this world in the highest heaven— he alone knows, or, perhaps, even he does not know."

Meanwhile, man is counselled to be compassionate to his kind: "Fortune, like two chariot wheels revolving, now to one man comes nigh, now to another. Who has the power should give unto the needy. One who feeds all by himself sins all by himself."

In the Atharva Veda, which is closer to the Aryans' daily life and describes spells and incantations for the healing of diseases, for long life, etc., occurs this homage to the beauty and fertility of the new land reached after the arduous wanderings of generations: "O Earth, pleasant by thy hills and snow-clad mountains and wood-lands! On the earth—brown, black, ruddy and of all colours—the firm earth, the earth protected by Indra, upon this earth I unconquered, unslain, unwounded, have set my foot."

There is a good-humoured prayer for the fulfilment of the diverse needs of men, including the poet: "We all have various thoughts and plans, and diverse are the ways of men. The carpenter desires a rift so that he can repair it, the healer looks out for a fracture which he can set right. A bard am I, my father a healer, my mother grinds corn on the millstone. Striving for wealth, with varied plans we follow our desires like kine."

THE UPANISHADS

The Brahmanas are in the nature of manuals of Vedic sacrifice, and deal with the complexities of ritual such as the collection of Darbha grass and preparation of the fire-place. The Aranyakas are also concerned with ritual, though they tend to give it a symbolic meaning. It is in the Upanishads that speculative thought on man and the universe gets free rein. These texts are regarded as the culmination of the Vedas and are known as Vedanta (end of the Vedas). The term is applied also to later philosophical schools of classical Hinduism, such as Advaita (non-dualism), which base their tenets on the Upanishads.

The central teaching of the Upanishads is the identity of the macrocosm or the Universal Self (an extension of the Vedic concept of Brahman) with the microcosm of the human self or Atman (soul). In the words of Dr. Radhakrishnan, "Brahman (the ultimate as discovered objectively) is Atman (the ultimate as discovered introspectively). *Tat tvam asi* (That art thou). Truth is within us. "When we realize the universal Self in us, when and what may anybody fear or worship?"

The Upanishadic seers paid nominal homage to the three sacerdotal Vedas but had really no use for the mumbo-jumbo of magical ritual. They tended to undermine Brahmanism from within, and spoke in accents similar to those of the Buddha and Mahavira who were to emerge in the later Upanishadic period to question openly the very authority of the Vedas. The following passage from the Mundaka Upanishad is characteristic of their commendation of inner or spiritual sacrifice, rather than external ritual, as the path to enlightenment:

> "The sacrificial rites are manifoldly spread forth in the three Vedas. Do you perform them constantly, O lovers of truth. This is your path to the world of good deeds ..
>
> "Unsteady, indeed, are these boats in the form of sacrifices, eighteen in number, in which is prescribed only the inferior Karma (practice of ritual). The fools who delight in this sacrificial ritual as the highest spiritual good go again and again through the cycle of old age and death.
>
> "Those who practise Tapas (penance) in the forest, the tranquil ones, the knowers of truth, living the life of wandering mendicancy—they depart, freed from passion, through the door of the sun, to where dwells, verily, that immortal Purusha, the imperishable soul "

The Upanishadic seers frequently employ homely imagery to illustrate their abstract teaching on transcendental issues. In the Chandogya Upanishad, the sage Aruni asks his son Svetaketu to drop a pinch of salt in a bowl of water and then to take it out. When the youth pleads that he cannot because it has dissolved, he is asked to taste the water. The salt is invisible and intangible but it has permeated the whole water with its essence. "You do not perceive that the one Reality exists in your own body, my son, but it is truly there. Everything which is has its being in that subtle essence. That is Reality, that is the soul; and you are that, Svetaketu!"

Again, "Bring a fig from there." "Here it is, sir." "Break it." "It is broken, sir." "What do you see there?" "These extremely fine seeds, sir." "Of these, please break one." "It is broken, sir." "What do you see there?" "Nothing at all, sir." Then he said to Svetaketu: "Verily, my dear, that subtle

essence which you do not perceive—from that very essence does this great fig tree arise. Believe me, that which is the subtle essence—this whole world has that essence for its Self; that is the Real; that is the Self; that art thou, Svetaketu."

THE EPICS

We turn now from the interior landscape of Aryan India to the exterior. Even as the fine spirits among the Aryans were composing the nobler passages of the Vedas and the Upanishads, and the priests performed their rituals, the men of action were on the move, colonizing new territories and helping themselves to more of the bounties of their new homeland. The influx of successive Aryan tribes from the north-west necessitated expansion eastward to the Gangetic valley and southwards beyond the Vindhya hills. With the family as the basic unit and the tribe as the larger political entity, some Aryan tribes were organized on the republican pattern and others on the monarchical. The tribal council was in both cases an important forum.

Inevitably there were conflicts between the tribes over land, and one of them formed the historical nucleus of the epic story, the Mahabharata. In this great war, two coalitions of tribes ranged behind the Pandavas and the Kauravas fought for the fertile land north of Delhi. The Pandavas and their unrighteous cousins the Kauravas were both descendants of the Bharatas, a Vedic tribe after whose name the country is known as Bharatvarsh (land of the Bharatas) or Bharat for short.

Ascribed to the sage Vyasa, the Mahabharata is accorded the status of a religious text because it is much more than the narration of an epic battle. Studded with stories within stories, most of which illustrate the need to practise Dharma or right conduct, its hero is Yudhishtira, also known as Dharmaputra or the son of the God Dharma.

The high point of the epic is the dialogue on the battlefield of Kurukshetra between Krishna, who is God incarnate, and Arjuna, the Pandava warrior. Arjuna experiences a crisis of the spirit and wonders what use an empire would be if it were to be won by lifting arms against one's own kinsfolk. In the words of Krishna Chaitanya in *A New History of Sanskrit Literature*,

"Arjuna's chariot of war suddenly becomes a cell of meditation, the scene of an interior dialogue. He is the tormented human soul and Krishna is the soul's charioteer, God. The only religious figure to select the battlefield as the venue for spiritual instruction, Krishna thereby clearly indicated that the crisis of action was an existential crisis which could be resolved only by profoundly moral decisions. Arjuna was told that he was not fighting for an empire for himself and his brothers, but was called upon to fulfil his duty as a warrior, which was to resist evil, irrespective of what the ultimate consequences might be. When the realization dawns on Arjuna, the thunder of the battle-field, which was stilled during the interior dialogue, once again storms into consciousness like a peremptory call of the world demanding immediate attention to its crisis, and the epic action is resumed."

This instruction to Arjuna in Karma Yoga, or the path to salvation through detached action, is known as the Bhagavad Gita. It has been the subject of innumerable commentaries and interpretations. While Krishna is venerated by the learned as the supreme teacher, it is Krishna the child god whom the common people know and love. The Bhagavata Purana re-counts his childhood pranks and youthful dalliance with the Gopis (cowherdesses), the latter expressing the bridal sym-bolism of the individual human soul's yearning for and union with the divine. The Krishna legend is celebrated in song and dance in every part of India, and accounts perhaps for the high degree of indulgence of the child in the Indian home.

From the standpoint of the present survey of Indian history as a study in assimilation, the most significant aspect of Krishna is that he is a dark-hued god. *Neela varna* (blue in colour) is an appellation unfailingly used in the literature on Krishna, and all artists have depicted him in that colour. The Aryans were light-skinned and the four orders of society established by them ascribed the lowest place to the indigenous, dark skin-ned Sudras. Yet Krishna came to occupy a central place in the Hinduism which evolved from the Aryan Brahmanism of the Vedic period. That an indigenous tribal chief, of the Vrishni clan, came to be deified and to rank with the Aryan king Rama in the Hindu pantheon is a measure of the integration which took place between the Aryans and the non-Aryans.

The southward movement of the Aryans forms the historical substratum of the other epic, the Ramayana, which is even more widely read and venerated as a scripture. Ascribed to the sage Valmiki, the Ramayana has been translated and retold in summary form in every language of India including Tamil, Malayalam, Kannada and Telugu, the main languages of the south which are not derived from Sanskrit though they have assimilated Sanskrit vocabulary in varying degree.

The Aryan-Dravidian encounter in the Ramayana story has made the epic in recent decades the subject of some controversy. Since the early part of this century when the British introduced a limited measure of self-government in the provinces, the process of democratization created a popular movement against the dominance of the Brahmans not only in social status but also in the modern professions and the civil services. While this movement emerged in many parts of the country, it found sharp and sustained articulation in the Tamil-speaking region of south India where the Dravidian movement, disregarding the racial mixture that had taken place over the millennia, identified the Brahmans as Aryans and directed itself against the alleged domination of the 'Dravidian' south by 'Aryan' northerners. Given also the strain of atheism in the Dravidian movement, some of its followers reject all Hindu gods including and in particular Rama, since to them he symbolizes the Aryan conquest of the south. They object to the celebration of Rama Leela, the festival during which, in north India, the effigies of Ravana and his lieutenants are burnt as symbols of evil; they regard Ravana the southern monarch as their hero. This attitude is confined to a small minority. The surprise is not that there should be such manifestations of antagonism based on historical and racial memory, but that the multi-racial society of India should have common gods and goddesses in Rama, Krishna and Siva, Lakshmi, Parvati and Kali, from north to south and west to east.

The Concept of Dharma

Both the Ramayana and the Mahabharata are long compilations in which it is difficult to distinguish interpolations from

the original text. Both contain episodes in which the means adopted by the heroes are not as righteous as the ends they pursue, forcing pious commentators to offer ingenious explanations. The central message of both the epics, however, is Dharma or right conduct. If the hero of the Mahabharata is the son of Dharma, Rama is the very Avatar (incarnation) of Dharma. Mahatma Gandhi was deeply influenced by the Hindi version of the Ramayana by Tulsidas, and he described the perfect society which he wanted to be built in India as Rama Rajya or the kingdom of god on earth

"In this world," to quote a passage from the epic, "Dharma (ethics), Artha (material gain) and Kama (pleasure) are all to be found in the fruit accruing from the pursuit of Dharma. They will all be found there even as in the case of a chaste wife who is beloved and blessed with offspring. If there is a case in which the three are not found together, one should do only that in which there is Dharma, for one who is intent solely on material gain is to be hated, and to be engrossed wholly in pleasure is not praiseworthy...From Dharma issue profit and pleasure: one attains everything by Dharma; it is Dharma which is the essence and strength of the world"

Dharma (deriving from a root which means 'to hold together') is thus an ethical concept which is crucial to what is now called Hinduism. The old term for religion in India was Arya Dharma (the noble ethic) and it was used by Buddhists and Jains as well as those who accepted the Vedas. Orthodox votaries describe their religion to this day as Sanatana (eternal) Dharma, not Hinduism which is a term coined by persons who came from outside.

THE FOUR ENDS OF MAN

As the mysticism of the Upanishads gained ascendancy in the scale of values, the Dharma of activity was differentiated from Moksha, or pure awareness associated with the bliss of oneness, which was rated as the highest good. While Dharma continued to be stressed as the regulating factor in man's pursuit of profit and pleasure, the supreme end was Moksha or spiritual liberation. Thus came to be established the value

system of Dharma-Artha-Kama-Moksha.

Each component of this system is discussed elaborately in ancient treatises. Among those on Dharma the most celebrated is Manu's. The Manu Smriti details the code of conduct appropriate to the various members of society and the family. On the status of women, for example, the patriarchal code of Manu says : "Women must be honoured by their fathers, brothers, husbands and brothers-in-law. Where women are honoured, there the gods rejoice; where they are not honoured, there all sacred rites prove fruitless. Her father protects her in childhood, her husband protects her in youth, her sons protect her in old age. A woman does not deserve independence."

The Artha Sastra or science of political economy is the principal treatise on the second end of man. It is ascribed to Kautilya, the minister of Chandragupta Maurya in the fourth century B.C., and deals with the duties of kings, inter-State relations and diplomacy, administration and economics. The king is enjoined to guard against the confusion between right action and wrong action likely to be created by his own entourage: "Thereby he suffers the disaffection of his own subjects or falls prey to the enemy...In the happiness of the subjects lies the happiness of the king. The welfare of the king does not lie in the fulfilment of what is dear to him; whatever is dear to the subjects constitutes his welfare." In diplomacy, however, the emphasis is more on the efficacy than the righteousness of means. Thus the six elements of inter-State policy are peace, war, marking time, attack, seeking refuge, and duplicity.

Kama comprehends the pursuit of every kind of pleasure, from the carnal to the aesthetic The urbane Indian's ideal of refined living in the fourth century A.D. is depicted in Vatsyayana's Kama Sutra or aphorisms on love. The treatise covers a wide gamut of themes from the proper lay-out and furnishing of a well-to-do citizen's house to the varieties of love making. Bharata's Natya Sastra is a treatise on aesthetics, central to which is the concept of Rasa the flavour or relish of an emotion. The nine Rasas, expressed in drama, poetry, music and dance, are : love, humour, pathos, violence, heroism, fear, disgust, wonder and Santi the peace of the realized soul that

passes understanding.

Moksha, the fourth and supreme end, is the liberation of man, even while in the body, from Karma (the effect of ego-bound action on the agent) which causes the cycle of death and of rebirth in the phenomenal world. There is no single, standard text on Moksha. The theme runs through the Upanishads, the epics, the Vaishnava and Saiva Puranas which describe the glorious deeds of Vishnu and Siva in different incarnations, and the devotional songs and hymns of the saints of the medieval period.

Moksha can be attained through any one or a combination of three paths : detached action, knowledge and devotion, known respectively as the Yogas of Karma, Jnana and Bhakti. Of these the path of Bhakti or devotion to the Lord in prayerful surrender is the easiest and is the most commonly followed in popular Hinduism. Bhakti is expressed in a variety of ways; the worship of the Ishta Devata (the deity dear to one), often with the offering of flowers, fruit and incense, at home or in temples; the constant remembrance and chanting of his name; pilgrimage to holy places; and the performance of charity and other good deeds. If some who are devout are also crassly superstitious or rigidly orthodox, and prayer and offerings to a deity are sometimes for fulfilment of the most mundane desires, these are distortions that the practice of any faith is liable to.

The example and precept of the Bhakti saints show that the attitude of devotion is not in contradiction to the other two paths, since it tends to promote good conduct towards fellow men and to induce the detachment which is the mark of the Jnani or enlightened one. The Bhagavad Gita reconciles the three Yogas by teaching detached action with an enlightened mind and with devotion to the Lord:

> "Whoever, having restrained his organs of action, still continues to brood over the objects of the senses—he, the deluded one, is called a hypocrite.
> But he who, having controlled the sense organs by means of the mind, follows without attachment the path of action—he excels.

Action alone is your concern, never at all its fruits. Let not the fruits of action be your motive, nor let yourself be attached to inaction.
Those men who, full of faith and without malice, always follow this My teaching - they are, verily, freed from the bondage of actions.
Those who take refuge in Me, even though they be lowly born, women, Vaisyas, as also Sudras—even they attain to the highest goal."

THE FOUR STAGES OF LIFE

Corresponding to the four ends of man are the four Asramas or stages in the round of life: Brahmacharya or studentship, during which the adolescent, vowed to celibacy, is instructed in skills and knowledge, including the Dharma which should guide his pursuit of wealth and pleasure in the second stage, namely of the Grihasta or householder; the next two stages are of Vanaprasta or retirement to a forest to lead a life of calm reflection, and Sanyasa, the renunciation of all worldly interests by donning the yellow robes and becoming a wandering ascetic and teacher.

While some authorities allowed that a student might skip the stage of the householder and enter directly into forest life or asceticism, Manu and Kautilya stressed the importance of married life, of begetting progeny and engaging in economically productive activity before seeking spiritual liberation. Manu said: "Because men of the three other orders are daily supported by the householder with gifts and food, the order of the householder is the most excellent."

Commenting on this "classically programmed living" and its relevance under conditions of modern life, Krishna Chaitanya observes in *A Profile of Indian Culture*: "Most of the maladjustments of advancing age are traceable to the fact that people do not repattern the trajectories of their lives, their involvements, interests and pursuits in smooth alignment with the physiological and psychological growth curves...The old Indian pattern furnishes a scheme of fine adjustment which can be easily adapted to the conditions of modern living. For instance, in the third

phase one does not need to retire to forest retreats for a contemplative life. One could find some more time for serious thought to the larger problems of society, instead of being completely engrossed in the low-order motivations and strategies of the rat-race of careerism. Similarly, in the last phase, one does not have to wear saffron and become a Sanyasi. There are large areas of social and humanitarian work which can absorb any number of dedicated volunteers."

The view of life briefly sketched above, which emerged from the time of the Upanishads to the codes of Manu and Kautilya (roughly 500 B.C. to 500 A.D.) has remained the dominant Hindu view of life.

Schools of Philosophy

All the six major systems of classical Indian philosophy accept the authority of the Vedas though the Vedic testimony is treated in a liberal spirit, the interpretation of Vedic texts depending on the philosophical predilections of the exponents. However, there were heretics and sceptics who denied the sanctity of the Vedas as revealed knowledge, rejected the rituals prescribed by the Brahmans, and preached doctrines that denied god or were indifferent to the question of his existence. It is noteworthy that they were rarely persecuted or reviled. Indeed, Kautilya prescribed respectful attention to the heretics among the duties of a king, who should "attend to the affairs relating to the gods (temples and endowments), hermitages, heretics, learned Brahmans, cattle and holy places as also those of minors the aged, the sick, those in difficulty, the helpless, and women..."

Of the six orthodox schools of philosophy, the Samkhya (literally, reasoning) and Vedanta (monism) were non-ecclesiastical and non-dogmatic. But they paid nominal tribute to the sanctity of the Vedas and were tolerated within the pale of Brahman orthodoxy- unlike the Jains, Buddhists and the Brihaspatyas (adherents of the seventh, and materialist, school of philosophy whose texts are largely lost) who denied the self-evident truth claimed for the Vedas.

A Samkhya text says: "Just as insentient milk flows out for the purpose of the growth of the calf, even so is the activity

of primordial matter (Prakriti, feminine in gender) intended for the release of the spirit (Purusha, masculine). Just as a danseuse displays her art to the public and retires, even so does primordial matter unfold itself before the spirit and then retire. Therefore, no spirit is bound, none is released, none transmigrates; primordial matter, taking different forms, transmigrates, binds herself and releases herself. By her own forms matter binds herself; and, for the purpose of the spirit, she herself, with one of her forms, namely knowledge, causes release. 'I am not like this', 'This is not mine', 'This is not myself'—by repeated cognisance of this truth, pure knowledge arises. Whereby the spirit, remaining unaffected like a spectator, merely looks on at primordial matter who has, on the cessation of her purpose, ceased to evolve. The one (spirit) is indifferent, because he has seen through matter; the other (matter) has ceased to be active because she has been seen through; even though their union continues for a time, there is no evolution."

The Vedanta teaching of non-duality is better illustrated by the following account of an incident in the life of Sankara, its leading exponent, than by any quotation from his abstruse exposition: "One morning, Sankara was going to the temple of Lord Viswanatha (in Banaras), accompanied by his disciples, after a bath in the sacred river. A Chandala (outcaste), followed by dogs and with a pot of liquor in his hand, came near him. Sankara asked the Chandala to get out of his way. The Chandala enquired as to which should go away, the body or the self. 'As for the body, it is the same in composition in the case of every person. As for the self, it is one and all-pervading.' Sankara realised at once that this was no ordinary Chandala. In fact it was Lord Siva himself that had come in the guise of an untouchable. Sankara prostrated before the Lord and sang a hymn in which he declares that the one who has realised non-duality is the master." (*Ten Saints of India* by T M.P. Mahadevan)

The other four orthodox schools of philosophy are Mimamsa, dealing with the propitiation of the deities for attaining happiness in heaven, Yoga which prescribes physical and ethical disciplines for freeing the spirit from the trammels of matter, Vaiseshika with its theory of atoms each with a particular quality, and Nyaya which expounds the methodology of thought and reasoning.

Each of the six philosophies promised liberation from the pain of existence, leading Max Mueller to comment in his work on *The Six Systems of Indian Philosophy:* "If therefore all Indian philosophy professes its ability to remove pain, it can hardly be called pessimistic in the ordinary sense of the word. Even physical pain, though it cannot be removed from the body, ceases to affect the soul as soon as the Self has fully realised its aloofness from the body, while all mental pain, being traced back to our worldly attachments, would vanish by freeing ourselves from the desires which cause these attachments."

The heterodox philosophy of the Brihaspatyas, so called after a sage Brihaspati, questioned the very notion of a soul separate from the body. Admitting the evidence only of the senses, they said that the soul was only the body qualified by the attribute of intelligence, and therefore perished with the body. Whereas the other philosophies started with an examination of the problem of pain as if suffering were something irregular which had no right to exist, the Brihaspatyas (also known as Charvakas or Lokayatas) held that sensual enjoyment is a legitimate end of man and that pain should be accepted as an inevitable concomitant of pleasure: "The pleasure which arises from contact with sensible objects is to be relinquished as accompanied by pain—such is the warning of fools. The berries of paddy, rich with the finest white grains, what man seeking his true interest would fling them away because covered with husks and dust?"

They had no belief in an after-life and had no use for sacrifices or for the Brahmans who conducted them: "If a victim slain at the Jyotishtoma will go to heaven, why is not his own father killed there by the sacrificer ?...Funeral ceremonies for the dead were ordered by the Brahman as a means of livelihood." An echo can be heard in the aphorism of Kapila (who systematised the Sankhya philosophy) in which Dakshina (the offer of gifts to priests) is classed among "the bondages." Max Mueller remarks on this Sutra: "What would have become of the Brahmans without their Dakshinas or fees, the very name of a Brahman being Dakshiniya, one to be fee'd?"

II

Hindu-Jain-Buddhist Interaction

Vardhamana Mahavira (599-527 B.C.), though popularly regarded as the founder of the Jain religion, is believed by the Jains to be the twenty-fourth and last Tirthankara one who makes a ford (to cross the sea of suffering). The word Jain is derived from Jina, a title of Mahavira meaning the victor or one who has conquered himself.

MAHAVIRA

Mahavira is believed to have been born at Kundagrama, in present-day north Bihar. Though his father was a chieftain of a warrior clan, Mahavira became an ascetic at the age of thirty and practised penance and meditation for twelve years till he attained enlightenment. Thereafter he preached and popularized the principles of Ahimsa (non-injury), Anekanta (non-absolutism) and Aparigraha (non-attachment). Elaborating an ethical code for householders as well as for monks, he organized a community whose membership was open to all aspirants irrespective of caste or sex. Mahavira recognized only one, namely the human, caste. He preached in the then local dialect of the common people, called Ardha Magadhi.

Jainism spread rapidly in the country. There were Jain monks on the banks of the Sindhu at the time of Alexander's invasion. The religion spread to the south, too, where some of

the earliest Kannada literature is of Jain inspiration and many kings patronized the faith and built temples in honour of the Tirthankaras till Jainism was displaced by the wave of devotional theism which arose in the medieval period. Unlike Hinduism and Buddhism, the Jain religion remained confined to India because Jain monks were not allowed to travel abroad.

The doctrine of non-violence being central to Jainism, it was opposed to ritualistic practices involving animal sacrifice. The doctrine finds its positive expression in compassion. Mahatma Gandhi, born in Gujarat where Jainism is wide-spread, was deeply influenced by the dictum of non-violence as the highest ethic (Ahimsa Paramo Dharmah). He was also attracted by the Jain theory of non-absolutism: "I very much like the doctrine of the many-sidedness of reality. It is this doctrine that has taught me to judge a Muslim from his standpoint and a Christian from his."

Jainism acknowledges the absolute religious freedom, and hence responsibility, of man. The individual is free to work out his own salvation, in which no god or prophet can intervene. Since endeavour gives shape to fate, fate is the consequence of one's own actions. Salvation is to be found by freeing the soul from the matter in which it is enmeshed, so that the soul may enjoy self-sufficient bliss:

> One should know what binds the soul, and, knowing, break free from bondage.
> What bondage did the Hero declare, and what knowledge did he teach to remove it?
> He who grasps at even a little, whether living or lifeless, or consents to another doing so, will never be freed from sorrow.
> If a man kills living things, or slays by the hand of another, or consents to another slaying, his sin goes on increasing.
> The man who cares for his kin and companions is a fool who suffers much, for their numbers are ever increasing.
> All his wealth and relations cannot save him from sorrow.
> Only if he knows the nature of life will he get rid of Karma.

The word Karma, it will have been noticed, is used in variable senses. It can refer to the performance of the ritual activity prescribed in Vedic literature for various occasions such as

sacrifice, birth, marriage and death. In the concept of Karma Yoga, expounded in the Bhagavad Gita, it stands for detached action, free of the sense of a doing 'I' and without yearning for the fruits of action. More often, Karma denotes the impress left by desire-driven action on the agent, who remains chained to the cycle of rebirth in the phenomenal world so long as he is involved egoistically in his actions. This led, in popular usage, to the equation of Karma with destined fate, the cumulative consequence of past actions in this and in unknown previous births from which there is no escape – generating on the part of many the fatalistic attitude to life which is ascribed to Hindus. In the Jain verse quoted above, Karma stands for ego-bound activity leading to rebirth in the phenomenal world.

BUDDHA

Siddhartha Gautama (563-483 B.C.), better known as the Buddha – the Enlightened or Awakened – was, like Mahavira, born in the family of a chieftain in a republic. His father brought him up in wealth and sheltered comfort, but could not shield him for long from knowledge of the sufferings in the surrounding world. Leaving his home, wife and child, Gautama launched on a quest which, after the conventional austerities had failed to yield the meaning of the world and of human life, culminated in enlightenment as he sat in contemplation under a Pipal tree near Gaya, in modern Bihar.

The truth found and preached by the Buddha was more psychological than metaphysical or theological. It comprehended four insights: that sorrow is inseparable from life; that sorrow is due to craving; that it can be stopped only by the stopping of craving; and that this can be done by following a course of disciplined conduct and meditation – the Middle Path between self-indulgence and self-torture, entailing right views, right speech, right aspirations, right contemplation, right conduct, right effort, right livelihood and right mindfulness. This Path leads to Nirvana, or the "blowing out" of the individual ego. One of the first steps on the road to this goal is to do good to other beings, including animal creation, thereby weakening the ego which is the cause of sorrow.

Buddhism was no exception to the rule of religions, in any age or clime, dividing into rival denominations soon after the time of the inspired founders. Even as Hinduism divided into the Vaishnavite and Saivite schools and numerous sects and sub sects within each, and Jainism into the Digambaras and the Svetambaras (white-clothed, who, unlike the Digambaras, allowed women to become nuns), Buddhism assumed two major forms: the Theravada (teaching of the elders) and the Mahayana or great vehicle (to salvation) followers of the latter school calling the former Hinayana or the little vehicle. However, the basic beliefs of both were the same and are illustrated by the following excerpts from the vast body of Buddhist texts:

> No Brahman is such by birth.
> No outcaste is such by birth.
> An outcaste is such by his deeds.
> A Brahman is such by his deeds.

> The man who tortures his body and calls it penance
> In the hope of continuing to satisfy desire
> Does not perceive the evils of rebirth,
> And through much sorrow goes to further sorrow.

> Not that the effort is to be blamed which leaves
> The base and seeks the higher aim,
> But wise men should labour with an equal zeal
> To reach the goal where further toil is needless.

> The body is commanded by the mind,
> Through mind it acts, through mind it ceases to act.
> All that is needed is to subdue the mind,
> For the body is a log of wood without it.

> There are ten ways by which a Boddhisattva ('being of wisdom') gains strength.
> He will give up his body and his life, but he will not give up the Law of Righteousness.
> He bows humbly to all beings, and does not increase in pride.

He has compassion on the weak and does not dislike them.
He gives the best food to those who are hungry.
He protects those who are afraid.
He strives for the healing of those who are sick.
He benefits the poor with his riches.
He repairs the shrines of the Buddha with plaster.
He speaks to all beings pleasingly.
He bears the burdens of those who are tired and weary.

Buddhist monks spread the teaching far and wide. The Theravada school came to pervade Sri Lanka, Burma, Thailand, Cambodia and Laos, while the Mahayana travelled north to Central Asia, Tibet, China, Mongolia, Korea and Japan.

Religious Synthesis

Though, in this brief survey, Vedic Brahmanism, Jainism and Buddhism have been discussed one after the other, it is important to note that the three developed contemporaneously from the sixth century B.C. Jain and Buddhist cosmology, metaphysics and legend drew liberally on the traditions of the very Brahmanism and theism which the heretical creeds rejected. The concepts of vast time cycles or Yugas (which presage, in their mind-boggling immensity, modern calculations of stellar distance and geological age), of rebirth and transmigration, of Karma and Dharma, are common to all three. While the learned might distinguish between the Moksha of Hinduism, the Kevalya of Jainism and the Nirvana of Buddhism, to the common Indian they are one and the same. Though there were disputations and rivalry for royal patronage between the devotional theism centering round the Hindu gods, on the one hand, and the professedly atheistic creeds on the other, Jainism and Buddhism themselves in popular practice came to be theistic in course of time and their votaries built temples and idols for pilgrimage and worship with no less enthusiasm than the Hindus.

The Chinese traveller Fa Hsien, who visited India early in the fifth century A.D., noted that Buddhist monasteries flourished alongside Hindu temples, and that the adherents of both religions participated in the same religious processions as though

Buddhism was a branch of Hinduism rather than a separate faith.

To this day, though Buddhism has declined in the land of its birth, many Hindus regard the Buddha as an incarnation of Vishnu. In the mythology of popular Hinduism, derived from the Puranas, the Dasa Avatar (ten incarnations) are in a sequence which suggests a presentiment of the theory of evolution : Matsya (fish), Koorma (tortoise), Varaha (boar), Narasimha (man-lion), Vamana (human in form but of dwarf stature), Parasurama, Rama, Balarama, Krishna and, yet to come in the present Yuga or world cycle of 4,320,000 years, Kalki. Many Hindus substitute the Buddha for Krishna in this pantheon of incarnations.

As the compilers of *Sources of Indian Tradition* remark, "In Indian religion, divinity is not something completely transcendent, or far exalted above all mortal things, as it is for the Jew, Christian or Muslim, neither is it something concentrated in a single, unique, omnipotent and omniscient personality. In Indian religions godhead manifests itself in so many forms as to be almost if not quite ubiquitous, and every great sage or religious teacher is looked on as a special manifestation of divinity, in some sense a god in human form ..It must be remembered that Indian religion is not exclusive. The most fanatical sectarian would probably agree that all the other sects had some qualified truth and validity. Hence Buddhism was never wholly cut off from the main stream of Indian religion . Medieval Hinduism knew many sects; each specially devoted to one or other of the gods, who was looked upon as supreme, the lesser gods being mere emanations or secondary forms of the great one. From the point of view of the layman this would be the position of Buddhism—a sect of Hinduism with its own special order of devotees, the monks, pledged to the service of their god. It cannot be too strongly emphasized that Hinduism has always tended to assimilate rather than to exclude."

The First Empires

The first large-scale consolidation of political power, from out of the numerous kingdoms and republics in ancient India, was attempted by Bimbisara, king of Magadha (modern Bihar),

during the fifth century B.C. The later dynasty of the Nandas extended the Magadhan sway, eastward and westward, over the whole of north India except Punjab by the middle of the fourth century B.C.

When, in 326 B.C., Alexander's armies entered through the Kabul valley, Punjab—part of which along with Sind and the north-west frontier had earlier been under Persian rule—was divided between a large number of warring kingdoms and republics. Alexander was attracted to India, as Arrian records in his biography, by reports "that the country beyond the Hyphasis was rich and productive". But he had to turn back, after a year and a half, for a number of reasons: the homesickness of his soldiers, the resistance offered by Porus, and Alexander's awareness of the strength of the Magadhan power to the east of Punjab. Alexander left behind him a number of Greek settlements and garrisons which kept alive the Hellenic impact on India.

It was at this time that Chandragupta Maurya overthrew the Nanda power and founded a new dynasty with the aid of a Brahman counsellor, Chanakya, also known as Kautilya and reputed as the author of Artha Sastra. Chandragupta established the first imperial Indian State. According to Plutarch, he commanded an army of 600,000 men and subdued the whole of India. In a successful fight against Alexander's general and successor, Seleucus, Chandragupta won the Kabul valley and married a Greek princess. This served to strengthen the Hellenic influence on Indian art and culture which was already at work. According to Jain tradition, Chandragupta was a patron of Jainism and ultimately became a monk.

ASOKA

The next great emperor was Asoka, remembered for his wisdom and compassion rather than deeds of war. Grandson of Chandragupta, he ascended the throne in 273 B.C. and began by continuing the tradition of conquest. But the war against Kalinga (modern Orissa) and the killings and maimings it entailed brought about profound introspection and remorse. This led him to embrace Buddhism. Instead of waging war, he began to establish hospitals for men and beasts, and to undertake works of public utility.

The story of Asoka's conversion and its aftermath is best told in his own words, from the edicts he caused to be inscribed on rocks through the length and breadth of his empire: "Kalinga was conquered by His Sacred and Gracious Majesty when he had been consecrated eight years. One hundred and fifty thousand persons were thence carried away captive, one hundred thousand were there slain. Directly after the annexation of the Kalingas began His Sacred Majesty's zealous protection of the Law of Piety, his love of that Law (Dharma), and his inculcation of that Law. Thus arose His Sacred Majesty's remorse for having conquered the Kalingas, because the conquest of a country previously unconquered involves the slaughter, death and carrying away captive of the people. That is a matter of profound sorrow and regret to His Sacred Majesty."

After announcing Asoka's renunciation of war in favour of the conquest of men's hearts by the law of duty and piety, an edict says: "Even upon the forest folk in his dominions His Sacred Majesty looks kindly and he seeks to make them think aright. For, His Sacred Majesty desires that all animate beings should have security, self-control, peace of mind and joyousness."

Another edict proclaims: "All sects deserve reverence for one reason or another. By thus acting, a man exalts his own sect and at the same time does service to the sects of other people."

Of Asoka's reign of some forty years, H.G. Wells says in his *Outline of History*: "Amidst the tens of thousands of names of monarchs that crowd the columns of history, the name of Asoka shines, and shines almost alone, a star. From the Volga to Japan his name is still honoured. China, Tibet and even India, though it has left his doctrine, preserve the tradition of his greatness. More living men cherish his memory today than have ever heard the names of Constantine or Charlemagne."

Among the surviving Mauryan monuments are the Stupas (mounds enclosing sacred Buddhist relics), with stone railings and parasols on which the carvings have a bright, glistening polish. The State emblem of today's democratic republic of India is an adaptation from the lion capital of Asoka as preserved in the museum at Sarnath, the best known among the Stupas. In the original there are four lions, standing back to back, mounted on an abacus with a frieze carrying sculptures in relief of an elephant, a galloping horse, a bull and a lion sepa-

rated by intervening wheels over a bell-shaped lotus. Carved out of a single block of polished sandstone, the capital was crowned by the Dharma Chakra (Wheel of the Law). "The sculpture is charged with deep symbolism", says V.S. Agrawala in *The Heritage of Indian Art*. "The Dharma Chakra represents Dharma or the Law of the Buddha, and the lions the temporal power of an emperor who has dedicated all his resources to the victory of Dharma...The symbolism of Indian art attained its highest expression in the Sarnath capital, which is as much Buddhist as Vedic in the significance of its several parts."

In the State emblem of India, only three lions are visible, the fourth being hidden from view. The wheel appears in relief in the centre of the abacus with a bull on the right and a horse on the left and the outlines of the other wheels on the extreme right and left. The words Satyameva Jayate (from the Mundaka Upanishad), meaning 'Truth alone triumphs', are inscribed below the emblem in the Devanagari script. The national flag of the Indian republic also incorporates the Dharma Chakra at the centre of the horizontal tricolour of deep saffron, white and dark green.

There was considerable development of trade, internal and overseas—with Greece and the Roman empire during the Mauryan period. The mercantile guilds were patrons of art and helped the construction of Buddhist and Jain monasteries and monuments.

After the Mauryas

Palace rivalry and intrigue led to the fall of the Mauryan empire in 187 B.C., when the last king was overthrown by his army commander Pushyamitra Sunga. This marked a restoration of Brahmanism. Pushyamitra is credited with twice performing the Ashvamedha sacrifice in accordance with Vedic prescription, daring any contender in the realm to challenge him. But the Sungas were not hostile to Buddhism. It was in the Sunga period that embellishments were added to the Stupa at Sanchi, including four gateways of stone with sculpture depicting Buddhist legends.

The descendants of Pushyamitra Sunga were not able to maintain the stability of their empire. Bactrian Greeks, Parthians and Sakas (Scythians) poured in from the west and from central Asia. These new elements were quickly absorbed in the Indian milieu, and interacted with the local Buddhist and Hindu culture to create new forms of expression in sculpture and other arts. Kanishka, a prince of the Kushan branch of the Sakas, established a northern empire extending from central Asia to modern Uttar Pradesh. He was a patron of Buddhism. It is after his ascent to the throne in 78 A.D. that India counts the Saka era which is followed as the national calendar alongside the Gregorian.

Mathura, in modern Uttar Pradesh, emerged as a great centre of Kushan art which flourished during the first three centuries of the Christian era. The artists of Mathura created magnificent stone images of Buddha in seated and free standing poses, of both normal human size and colossal stature, images of nature deities, of Jain Tirthankaras and of Brahmanical gods and goddesses such as Surya, Vishnu, Siva and Saraswati reflecting a remarkable synthesis in religion and culture. Another school of art, known as the Gandhara, flourished during the Kushan period in the north-west of the sub-continent. Its best known examples are the two Buddha images of gigantic size at Bamian in modern Afghanistan.

The Gupta Period

With the rise of the Gupta power early in the fourth century Brahmanical Hinduism regained ascendancy in the north. The age of the Guptas (fourth and fifth centuries) is the classical period of Hindu culture and learning. Kalidasa, the great poet and dramatist, was among the "nine gems" at the court of Chandragupta Vikramaditya. Also of this period was the mathematician and astronomer Aryabhatta who dealt with square and cube roots, areas of triangle and circle, volume of pyramid and such problems, and to whom is attributed an opinion about the rotation of the earth around its axis: "The sphere of the stars is stationary, and the earth by its revolution produces the daily rising and setting of planets and stars." (It is after

this fifth century astronomer that the first earth satellite launched by India in April 1975 was named). Varahamihira the astronomer summarised in his Panchasiddhantika (505 A.D.) the extant knowledge in the field. The teachings of Charaka, the physician, and Susruta, the surgeon, both of whom lived before the Christian era, were systematised into standard texts during the fourth century.

In architecture, as in literature, the *ruling passion during* the Gupta period was the pursuit of physical and moral beauty : in the words of Kalidasa, "Beauty without sin is our aim." The Gupta temple is foremost among the surviving monuments of Gupta art. It was no longer excavated from rock, but was an independent structure built of dressed stone blocks. A fine example is the Dasavatara temple at Deogarh (fifth century), with its elaborately carved doorway, three-tiered spire and the panel depicting Vishnu reclining on a serpent.

The decline of the Gupta empire began with the invasion of its western provinces by the nomadic Huns from central Asia in the latter half of the fifth century. King Harsha of Kanauj (first half of the sixth century) was the next great monarch of north India. He exchanged ambassadors with the emperor of China. A patron of Buddhism, Harsha welcomed the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang who has left vivid accounts of Harsha's court as well as of Nalanda (in modern Bihar), a great seat of Buddhist learning which flourished at that time : "Foreign students came to the establishment to put an end to their doubts and then became celebrated, and those who stole the name (of Nalanda) were all treated with respect wherever they went."

The Tamil Heritage

Of the shaping influences on the Indian ethos, the next great stream after the northern Sanskritic was of Tamil poetry and thought in the south.

Interaction between the two began well before the Christian era. An Asokan inscription of the third century B.C. refers to the Chola, Pandya and Chera (modern Kerala) kingdoms as marking the southern border of his empire. A century later, a king of Kalinga (modern Orissa) claimed victory over the

Dramida (Dravidian) confederacy.

The origin of the Tamil language and literature has been the subject of much debate. Tradition ascribes the earliest Tamil literature to three successive Sangams, or academies, which flourished many millennia before the Christian era. Modern scholars place the earliest extant Tamil work, a grammatical treatise known as Tolkappiam, in the first century A.D. and it must have been preceded by centuries of literary activity. The work deals not only with Eluthu (orthography) and Sol (etymology) but also with Porul (matter, or literary theme). The author, Tolkappiar, is believed to have been one of the twelve direct disciples of the legendary sage Agastya who travelled south and settled there. The Sanskrit influence from the north increased with the advent of Jain and Buddhist monks. The uniqueness of Tamil literature is not that it managed to stay insulated from Sanskrit, but that it was not overwhelmed by it.

The temper of Sangam poetry, ascribed by the Jesudasans in their *History of Tamil Literature* to the second and third centuries A.D., is secular and humanist. A Sangam poet, Kaniyan Pungunranar, affirmed:

> "Every city is my city; all people are my people."
> "We do not take life as one of pleasure and rejoice in it, nor do we hate it and consider it as misery."
> "Life's good comes not from others' gift, nor ill, likewise. Pain and relief from pain are one's own."

A great poet after the Sangam age is Tiruvalluvar (fifth century), born in a supposedly low caste. His Kural, a string of ethical verses, ranks with Kamban's Ramayana among the Tamil classics. The Jesudasans say of the author of the Kural : "True, he treats love like a lover, and of children like a father who knows the joy of his children. But if that leads us to assumptions about his family life, how do we regard his wisdom about kings and ascetics? As with Shakespeare, nothing of the man is betrayed in his work beyond a superhuman understanding of the world."

The Kural deals with the three ends of man: Aram, corresponding to the Sanskrit Dharma (ethics); Porul or Artha (wealth and politics); and Inbam or Kama (love). The fourth end of

man as propounded by Brahmanism is not treated by Tiruvalluvar, though it was later to enter Tamil literature as Veedu (spiritual liberation or attainment of heaven).

Here are some maxims of Tiruvalluvar as translated by Rev. Popley:

> The flute is sweet, the lute is sweet, say those
> Who have never heard the prattle of their little ones.
>
> The living soul subsists in love;
> The loveless are but skin and bone.
>
> The sore that is made by fire will heal again;
> Not so the wound that by the tongue is made.

From another translator:

> Benevolence as duty to humanity seeks no return.
>
> He alone lives who knows that he is one with all.
> The rest have their place among the dead.

The twin Tamil epics, Ilango's Silappadiharam and Sattanar's Manimehalai (belonging to the second half of the fifth century) are informed respectively by the Jain and Buddhist faiths. Their heroes are of the merchant class, who were at the time overwhelmingly of the Jain faith throughout India. Soon, however, Brahmanism began to gain sway as the result of the Bhakti movement which was spread by devotional poets of the Saivite and Vaishnavite schools, known respectively as Nayanars and Alwars. By the end of the twelfth century, when Kamban wrote the Tamil Ramayana, what is now known as Hinduism had become well established. Though Kamban was probably a Vaishnavite, his outlook was universal. His Ramayana is informed by the Sangam spirit of sheer aesthetic enjoyment, the Kural spirit of ennobling ethics, as well as the Bhakti spirit of devout worship.

SOUTHERN KINGDOMS

The rise of the Gupta power in the north in the fourth century was contemporaneous with that of the Pallava kingdom in the

Tamil region. With their capital at Kanchi, the Pallavas were dominant till the ninth century when they were succeeded by the Cholas of Tanjore and the Pandyans of Madurai. The Pallavas are gratefully remembered by posterity as the builders of the magnificent rock temples and carvings in relief at Mahabalipuram, on the sea shore near Madras.

The Cholas were great seafarers whose power extended to several parts of south-east Asia. Their trade links with the west are attested by the evidence of a Roman trading station at Arikamedu on the Tamil coast, near present Pondicherry. One of the Chola kings sought to proclaim the ascendancy of the south by taking an army into the Ganges valley. But this remained a mere expedition, like an earlier attempt by a Gupta king to conquer the south. The expedition to the north accounts for the name of Gangaikondacholapuram, a town near Kumbakonam, where the Cholas built many beautiful temples. Another great monument of the Chola age is the Brihadiswara temple at Tanjore. The Cholas developed an effective system of local self-government through village assemblies which generally met in the temple courtyard and worked through a number of committees which managed local taxation, irrigation, and sanitation besides settling land disputes.

In the south-west, or modern Kerala, reigned the Cheras. The seafaring people of Kerala had contacts with the outside world, specially the west, since before the Christian era. There was trade also with the Malayan peninsula and the islands of south-east Asia.

There were frequent conflicts between these southern powers and the Deccan kingdoms, chief among them the Satavahanas (dating from before the Christian era), Chalukyas and Rashtrakutas of Andhra, Karnataka and Maharashtra. The Deccan kingdoms had to contend also with the adjoining north Indian powers.

The power struggles between rulers notwithstanding, the people of the north, the Deccan and the south shared the same cultural influences. Buddhism and Jainism flourished in the Deccan and farther south along with Brahmanism, as evidenced by the Buddhist sculpture at Nagarjunakonda, the mural paintings of Ajanta, the cave temples of Ellora and the giant Jain statue at Sravanbelgola.

The interaction between the different faiths is illustrated by the legends concerning the earliest Tamil saints of the theistic, devotional movement. Among those credited with converting or reconverting kings to Saivism, through their precept and example of dedicated living, are Tirunavukkarasu (seventh century), believed to have won over the Pallava king Mahendra Varman from Jainism; Jnanasambandhar (seventh century) who vanquished the Jains in disputation at Madurai and converted the Pandyan king; and Manikyavachakar (eighth century) who overthrew Buddhism, also at the Pandyan court.

On the intellectual plane the restoration of Upanishadic monism was accomplished by Sankara (788-820). Travelling on foot from his native Kerala across the length and breadth of India, he is reputed to have overthrown Buddhist and Jain spokesmen in philosophical debate and established foundations for the teaching of Advaita (non-dualism) at places as far apart as Dwaraka in west India, Puri in the east and Badrinath in the north. Though he was pre-eminently an exponent of the path of knowledge and inquiry (Jnana), Sankara also wrote several hymns of passionate devotion (Bhakti).

The current of social reform ran strong in popular literature through the centuries, decrying idolatry and superstition, the caste hierarchy and other false divisions of man from man. Typical of the literature of social protest are the Telugu sayings of Vemana, of the late seventeenth century. The following translations, by Gover and Brown, are from V.R. Narla's book on Vemana in the Sahitya Akademi series on the *Makers of Indian Literature* :

What animals ye are who worship stones
And care not for the God that dwells within!
How can a stone excel the living thing
That praise intones?

Why should we the Pariah (outcaste) scorn,
When his flesh and blood were born
Like to ours? What caste is He
Who doth dwell in all we see?

Whose son is Brahma? Whose son is Vishnu? Whose

son is Siva? Men are ignorant who dare call these persons gods. Numerous as creeds be, they are impermanent. Truth is but one on the earth. It consists in leaving every creed and beholding the one and only deity.
If the eye be single, thy knowledge shall be one like a man united with a woman. Then shall thy interior be full of light like the lord of the world

The Coming of Christianity

It was in Kerala that Christianity first reached India. According to a tradition, St. Thomas, one of the apostles, landed in Cranganore in 52 A.D. and founded the Christian church on the Malabar coast. At St. Thomas Mount in Madras there is a rock bearing the imprint of a human foot which, in this tradition, is believed to be that of St. Thomas miraculously impressed on the stone.

Some hold that Christianity was introduced by Thomas of Kana in the fourth century, and others that it was first preached in Kerala in the fifth century by Nestorian missionaries from Persia.

Marco Polo, who visited Kerala in 1293, refers to the Nestorian Christians and Jews he met there. Some believe that the first batch of Jews came to India in Solomon's time. In the second century others, fleeing from Jerusalem after the destruction of the Second Temple by the Romans, sailed to Cranganore, and yet more came in later times. These Jewish and Christian groups found a safe home in India, as did the Zoroastrians who migrated to India from Iran after Islam swept their country in the seventh century.

An important wave of Christian missionary effort reached India when St. Francis Xavier came from Europe in 1542. Though he is believed to have travelled down the west coast, through Kerala, as far south as Kanyakumari (the southernmost point of the Indian mainland), his name is associated with Goa. He opposed the corruption and oppression of the Portuguese officials there. When, after visiting Japan, he died while on way to China, Goa received the body of the apostle which was found incorrupt after having been packed in quicklime. The

body has been preserved at Goa ever since and is the centre of popular devotion.

Large-scale Christian missionary effort in India did not begin, however, till the early part of the nineteenth century.

The Advent of Islam

After the death of emperor Harsha in 647, north India got divided into a number of rival kingdoms. Among them were the Pala and Sena dynasties of eastern India (700-1200). Surviving specimens of Pala art include Buddhist images of stone and bronze, and miniature illustrations in palm-leaf manuscripts and on book covers of wood. To this period also belong the temples of Orissa including the famed Sun Temple at Konarak fashioned like a chariot. In central India ruled the Chandela kings who built the cluster of richly carved temples, standing on high plinths, at Khajuraho (950-1050). Indian temple sculpture is a prolific world of humanized divinities and divinized men and women, mirroring the life of princes and commoners of the times and the current styles of dress, ornament and coiffure.

In the far north, Lalitaditya of Kashmir wielded extensive power during the first half of the ninth century. The other principal powers were the Pratiharas and the Rashtrakutas. The latter, in the course of the conflicts with rival kingdoms, sometimes turned for support to the Arabs who had gained control of Sind early in the eighth century. The trade with west Asia was now largely in the hands of the Arabs, many of whom settled down in the port towns along the west coast of India.

The mutual strife among the north Indian kingdoms facilitated the successful raids around 1000 A.D. by Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni, in Afghanistan, who was a Turk of central Asian origin. During the preceding three centuries Islam had come peacefully and taken its place among the many religions of India. Now it came with the sword, and caused much bitterness. Particularly offensive was the destruction of shrines, the most notorious example of which was the sack of the Somnath temple in Gujarat.

As remarked by Jawaharlal Nehru, "Mahmud was far more a warrior than a man of faith and, like many other conquerors,

he used and exploited the name of religion for his conquests. India was to him just a place from which he could carry off treasure and material to his homeland. He enrolled an army in India and placed it under one of his noted generals, Tilak by name, who was an Indian and a Hindu. This army he used against his own co-religionists in central Asia."

Punjab passed under Turkish rule following the raids of Mahmud of Ghazni. Though there was a respite of a century and a half before the next invasion, by Muhammad Ghori from Afghanistan, the Rajput princes who ruled Delhi and its environs had not learnt the lesson of history. Their disunity enabled Ghori, at the second attempt, to take Delhi in 1192. Over the next 150 years the Delhi Sultanate established its control over north India and the greater part of the south.

Buddhism was already on the decline by the time of these invasions. A variety of reasons accounted for the decline: the conversion of many kings to Saivism by the saints of the theistic devotional movement which originated in the south; the active propagation of Vedic Brahmanism by teachers such as Sankara and Kumarila; and corruption in the Buddhist monasteries or at any rate their remoteness from the everyday life of the common people. The foreign invasion dealt the final blow. Whereas the Hindu priests who performed domestic religious rites for the lay folk, and the ascetics who wandered from place to place, needed no organization and could survive the physical and ideological onslaught of Islam, Buddhism, rooted in the monasteries, could not survive the destruction of the monasteries.

III

Syncretism in the Mughal Period

Though the Turks and Afghans who came with and in the wake of Muhammad Ghori behaved in the beginning as conquerors, they settled down in India unlike the earlier raiders. The reason perhaps was that their own central Asian homeland had been overrun by the Mongols under Chengiz Khan.

The domicile and Indianization of the Sultans of Delhi is illustrated by the fact that one of them, Allauddin Khilji, married a Hindu lady and so did his son. India became their home and Delhi the capital, not far-off Ghazni. Another example of assimilation is the emergence of the Bahmani (variant of Brahmani) kingdom in the south, so named by its Afghan Muslim founder in grateful memory of an early Hindu patron of his called Gangu Brahmin. When the Bahmani kingdom broke up, one of the new units was Ahmadnagar, founded by Ahmad Nizam Shah, son of Nizam-ul-Mulk Bhairi—the father bearing the name of his Brahmin sire, an accountant named Bhairu. "Thus", writes Jawaharlal Nehru, "the Ahmadnagar dynasty was of indigenous origin and Chand Bibi, the heroine of Ahmadnagar, had mixed blood. All the Moslem states in the south were indigenous and Indianized."

A Composite Culture

A remarkable example of the interaction and mutual enrich-

ment of the Persian culture of the Afghan newcomers and the indigenous languages and arts is provided by Amir Khusrau, of the fourteenth century. A Turk whose family had been settled in north India for two or three generations, Khusrau was versatile, and adept in poetry and music. He knew Sanskrit, and wrote both in Persian and in Hindi, the language of the common people. He is said to have invented the Sitar, which became a widely popular stringed instrument of India.

The process of assimilation reached its climax in the sixteenth century during the Mughal empire. It was founded in 1526, when the throne of Delhi was taken by Babar, a Turko-Mongol from central Asia where the influence of the arts and culture of Persia was strong. His grandson Akbar the greatest of the Mughals, was a conscious integrator. Jawaharlal Nehru says of him : "As a warrior he conquered large parts of India, but his eyes were set on another and more enduring conquest, the conquest of the minds and hearts of the people. In him the old dream of a united India again took shape, united not only politically in one state but organically fused into one people. Throughout his long reign of nearly fifty years from 1556 onwards he laboured to this end. Many a proud Rajput chief, who would not have submitted to any other person, he won over to his side. He married a Rajput princess, and his son and successor, Jehangir, was thus half Mughal and half Rajput Hindu. Jehangir's son, Shah Jehan, was also the son of a Rajput mother. Thus racially this Turko-Mongol dynasty became far more Indian than Turk or Mongol. Akbar was an admirer of and felt a kinship with the Rajputs, and by his matrimonial and other policy he formed an alliance with the Rajput ruling classes which strengthened his empire greatly. This Mughal-Rajput co-operation, which continued in subsequent reigns, affected not only government and the administration and army, but also art, culture and ways of living. The Mughal nobility became progressively Indianized and the Rajputs and others were influenced by Persian culture."

Akbar relied as much on his Hindu advisers, Raja Man Singh and Birbal, as on Abul Fazl and Abdul Rahim Khankhana. His court was a meeting place for learned men of all faiths. Indeed his toleration was so wide that it angered the more orthodox among Muslims. They disapproved of his effort

to promote a new faith, Din-i-Ilahi (Divine Faith), a synthesis of Hinduism and Islam. His eclectic search for religious truth led him to arrange for abridged translations in Persian of the Atharva Veda, the Ramayana and the Mahabharata. Dara Shikoh, great-grandson of Akbar, studied Hindu philosophy and translated several verses from the Upanishads.

The Indo-Afghan and Indo-Mughal period brought about significant changes in the way of life of the common people. A totally new language, Urdu, evolved from the combination of Hindi syntax with Persian and Arabic vocabulary. It marked the fusion of the two cultures. Since the majority of the Muslim population were converted Hindus, the pattern of living of Hindus and Muslims was basically similar, though each was influenced by the other in some respects.

The borrowing of the dome and the true arch from Persia—the Indian device till then had been the beam—and the adoption of the Indian use of stone (in place of brick commonly used outside) became the distinguishing features of Indo-Islamic architecture. Among the outstanding examples of this architecture are the Taj Mahal at Agra (described by the French savant Grousset as "the soul of Iran incarnate in the body of India"), Akbar's palace at Fatehpur Sikri, and the forts at Agra and in Delhi. They present an attractive fusion of Hindu and Islamic ornamentation.

In painting, too, there was a happy blending of two traditions. After the eighth century, large-scale mural painting as at Ajanta gave place to miniature painting, first in illustrated palm-leaf manuscripts and subsequently on paper. The palm-leaf illustrations of the Pala school in eastern India had their counterpart in Gujarat, in western India, in Jain manuscripts. This Gujarati painting, with its characteristic of faces in three-fourths profile, with pointed noses and eyes protruding beyond the facial line, developed into the pre-Mughal Rajasthani school of painting, notable for the use of brilliant colours. The favourite themes were the love of Radha for Krishna, episodes from the Puranas and epics, and the Ragamala (garland of musical modes). The association of music with painting is unique to Indian art. The mood of a musical mode, as reflected in nature and in human subjects, is depicted in these paintings which highlight post-harvest merriment, the vernal delight of spring, the

languor during the dry heat and the joy of the first rains which bring a second spring to the north Indian plains. In Akbar's time there developed the Mughal school which combined the best elements of Rajasthani and Persian painting. The latter contributed individuality and realism in portraiture in place of the idealised formalism of Rajasthani painting. The themes now included luxurious living in the seraglio, and princes holding court or hunting.

Indian music likewise underwent a transformation without losing continuity. Like sculpture and architecture, painting and metal work, Indian music had been inspired by religion which was the sole theme of all the arts. The appeal of devotional emotion had gained Bhakti music wide vogue among the common people, the lines being composed both in Sanskrit and in the regional languages. In the north the Dhrupad and in the south the Kirtana were the expression in Nada (sound) of the feeling of Bhakti. After the Mughal advent, while music continued in the temples and in Hindu homes as an aid to worship, it also found patronage in the court and was influenced by the secular and sensuous tastes of the rulers. Since the new patrons were unfamiliar with the verbal content of Dhrupad, it developed into Khayal (literally, imagination) in which more attention was paid to tonal structure than to meaning. It combined graceful tonal curves with steady, sustained notes.

Different Gharanas (schools) of Khayal developed at various Mughal courts. The lighter forms of Thumri and Dadra were devised at the court of Wajid Ali Shah of Lucknow. The Punjab camel driver's song gave rise to the supple Tappa, in which melody fuses with sophisticated rhythm. All these forms are rendered by Hindu and Muslim musicians alike. Indeed, the pre-Islamic Dhrupad was preserved in authentic form by a family of Muslim singers, the Dagars.

In the south, too, lighter forms like the Javali and Tillana developed. These, like the older Padam, expressed a wide gamut of erotic emotion from the ardour of expectation to the recall of fulfilment, symbolising the longing of the devotee for the Lord.

BHAKTI AND SUFISM

The statesmanship and liberalism of Akbar, and the symbiosis of the two cultures in literature and the arts, were sustained by the coincidental waves of Hindu Bhakti (devotionalism) and of Sufi mysticism both of which preached a common religion of human brotherhood.

The humanism of the Bhakti cult, which originated in and spread from the south, attracted the artisans and cultivators who were ranked low in the Brahmanical hierarchy. The devotional movement attached little importance to idol worship and ritual, and proclaimed the possibility of every individual, irrespective of the accident of origin, attaining union with the divine. These preachers of human brotherhood spoke and wrote in the regional languages of the common people, not in the Sanskrit of Brahmanic scholarship.

Thus Basava (twelfth century) of Karnataka proclaimed :

> He who knows only the Gita is not wise; nor is he who knows only the sacred books. He only is wise who trusts in God.
> When they see a serpent carved in stone, they pour the milk on it; if a real serpent comes, they say, 'Kill, Kill.'
> To the servant of God, who could eat if served, they say, 'Go away'; but to the image of God, which cannot eat, they offer dishes of food.
> To speak truth is to be in heaven, to speak untruth is to continue in the world of mortals. Cleanliness is heaven, uncleanliness is hell.
> Sweet words are equal to all prayers. Sweet words are equal to all penances. Good behaviour is what pleases God. Kindness is the root of all righteousness.
> Those who have riches build temples for Thee; what shall I build? I am poor. My legs are the pillars; this body of mine is the temple.

Lalla, the fourteenth century Saivite mystic of Kashmir, wrote :

> I, Lalla, went out far in search of Siva, the omnipresent

> Lord; after wandering, I, Lalla, found Him at last within my own self, abiding in His own home.
> With the help of the gardeners called Mind and Love, plucking the flower called Steady Contemplation, offering the water of the flood of the Self's own bliss, worship the Lord with the sacred formula of silence!

Kabir, born in a low weaver caste in Banaras in 1440, was claimed on his death in 1518 by Hindus and Muslims as one of their own. The devotional verse he composed in Hindi drew freely from both Sanskrit and Persian vocabularies, even as its content reflects strong Sufi influence on traditional Hindu belief. His teaching is summed up in the following verse :

> "Hari is in the East; Allah is in the West. Look within your heart, for there you will find both Karim and Ram. All the men and women of the world are His living forms. Kabir is the child of Allah and of Ram. He is my Guru. He is my Pir."

Four centuries later, Mahatma Gandhi invoked the same Bhakti-Sufi strain in the Indian ethos when he popularized the verse:

> "Iswar and Allah are both Your names. Grant us all good mind."

Tukaram, born in Maharashtra at the turn of the sixteenth century in a Sudra family but acknowledged by high and low as a saint, said:

> "I had hitherto clung to only one place, being engrossed in egoism. By my deliverance from it, I am enjoying a harvest of bliss. Death and birth are now no more. I am free from the littleness of 'me' and 'mine'."

The accents in which the Muslim Sufis spoke were no different. Like Bhakti, Sufism appealed to the artisans and the small traders in west Asia. From the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries, three great Sufi orders migrated from Iraq and Persia to northern India. Bridal symbolism was a common element in the

expression of Bhakti and of Sufism. According to the Sufis, the Ulema learned from books while the mystics learned from God.

Al-Ghazali (1059-1111), the great theologian and mystic, asked: "In what do discussions on divorce and on buying and selling prepare the believer for the beyond?"

Abu Said Abul Khair, the Persian mystic, wrote: "Whoever you be – an infidel, idolater, Jew or any one besides – Come! You are welcome in our company, in the lane of love of the Beloved."

And Jalaluddin Rumi: "O my brother, before death turns you into dust, of your own accord turn to dust (become egoless) so that you gain life eternal."

Sheikh Nizamuddin Auliya, the fourteenth century mystic, said: "Abandoning the world is not stripping oneself naked, or sitting wearing only a loin cloth. Abandoning the world means wearing clothes and eating, but not retaining what comes one's way, not acquiring anything, and not being attached to worldly things."

Finally, two verses of Dara Shukoh (1615-1659), who was friendly to Sufism:

"Paradise is there where no Mulla exists –
Where the noise of his discussions and debate is not heard
May the world become free from the noise of the Mulla
None should pay any heed to his decrees.
In the city where a Mulla resides,
No wise man ever stays."

"O you, in quest of God, you seek Him everywhere,
You verily are the God, not apart from Him.
Already in the midst of the boundless ocean,
Your quest resembles the search of a drop for the ocean."

GURU NANAK

This syncretist movement, in which the mystics and good men of Hinduism and Islam reached out towards each other,

culminated in the emergence of a religion, Sikhism, based on the teachings of Nanak (1469-1538). Born in a Punjabi Hindu family, Nanak left the service of the Muslim governor of the province and abandoned his home to teach all over the country the unity of God, whom all could approach through service and devotion. Nanak was accompanied during his wanderings by a Muslim disciple, the singer Mardana.

Nanak rejected idol worship, stressed the importance of good conduct, and deprecated the distractions of wealth and family ties:

> "Merits and demerits shall be read out in the presence of the Judge.
> According to men's acts, some shall be near and others distant from God."

> "The ignorant fools take stones and worship them.
> O Hindus, how shall the stone which itself sinks carry you across?"

> "They who have meditated on God as the truest of the true have done real worship and are contented.
> They have refrained from evil, done good deeds, and practised honesty.
> They have lived on a little corn and water, and burst the entanglements of the world."

The teachings of Nanak were compiled by his third successor, Guru Ram Das, in the last quarter of the sixteenth century. This compilation known as the Adi Granth or First Book includes a large selection from Kabir and other Bhaktas and Sufis whose message was in consonance with Nanak's. Among the Sufis whose sayings are included in the sacred book of the Sikhs is Baba Farid, preceptor of Nizamuddin Aulia.

The tenth and last Guru, Gobind Singh (1675-1708), accomplished the organization of the Sikhs into a disciplined community whose members would wear the five distinguishing marks including unshorn hair and beard.

It is characteristic of Akbar that he admired the saintly lives of the Sikh Gurus of his time. There was no conflict between

the new religion, which was gathering recruits from both Hindus and Muslims, and Islam or the state.

The tradition of Akbar's statesmanship and benevolent interest in all religions (he invited a group of Jesuits from Goa to expound their faith at his court) was continued, by and large, by his successors Jehangir and Shah Jahan. In the result, the Mughal empire was more stable and successful than any earlier Indian dynasty barring the Mauryas.

Decline of the Mughal Empire

However, a reverse trend was to set in. The Bhakti-Sufi synthesis, based on the rejection of dogma and ritual, had been disapproved from the beginning by the orthodox on either side. Akbar's great-grandson Aurangzeb was orthodox, and regarded himself more as a Muslim than an Indian. He ascended the throne in 1658 after imprisoning his father Shah Jahan, and had his eldest brother Dara Shikoh condemned as a heretic and executed. Aurangzeb reimposed the Jeziya or poll-tax on the Hindus who were the great majority of his subjects. He offended the Rajputs, who had been the props of the Mughal empire, as well as the Marathas. He terminated the Jesuit missions at Agra and Lahore established by the group from Goa that Akbar had invited.

With Aurangzeb turning the Mughal empire into an Islamic instead of a national state, he and his successors were embroiled in a series of wars with the Sikhs, the Rajputs and the Marathas led by Shivaji.

Though these conflicts enfeebled the Mughal empire and made the country vulnerable to economic and military penetration by the European powers, the social harmony in the common people's everyday life, which had developed over the centuries, was not significantly impaired. Within the warring kingdoms there was little distrust or hostility on religious lines. Siddi Ibrahim was one of the constant bodyguards of Shivaji. The foreign minister of the Sikh ruler Ranjit Singh was Fakir Azizuddin. Haider Ali of Mysore (Karnataka) made no distinction between his Hindu and Muslim subjects. He allowed his Hindu soldiers to perform their puja (worship) in a temple

before embarking on an expedition. When a portion of the Ranganatha temple was damaged in a fire in 1774, Hyder Ali helped to rebuild it. His son Tippu Sultan held the Sankaracharya of Sringeri in high esteem, and sent gifts regularly to the major temples in his kingdom.

IV

The Western Impact: Reform and Nationalism

With a vast sub-continent to conquer and unify, the Mughals paid no attention to sea power. They did not realise the implications of the effort by the Portuguese and other Europeans to displace the Arab middlemen in their trade with south and east Asia by establishing their own trading posts in these territories. During the sixteenth century, by Akbar's time, the Portuguese were masters of the Indian Ocean, and were in control of Goa.

European Ascendancy

In the wake of the Portuguese came the Dutch, the Danes, the French and the English. By the middle of the eighteenth century the French and the English had ousted the other European trading companies and there began a struggle between the two for control of the Indian trade, with Dupleix and Robert Clive playing the leading roles. Both the English and the French interfered and took sides in conflicts between Indian rulers in order to advance their own interests.

The Battle of Plassey (1757) gave the East India Company control over Bengal whose Nawab (provincial governor) Sirajuddaula was replaced by a protege of the English. Following the Battle of Buxar in 1764, the titular Mughal emperor in Delhi gave the Company the right to govern and raise reve-

nue in the provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. The era of trade gave place to empire-building. In 1772 the Company's directors in England sent Warren Hastings as Governor—soon styled Governor-General—with instructions to assume direct administration of the Company's provinces. The Company officials in Madras and Bombay, wanting to emulate Calcutta, found occasions enough to provoke or intervene in conflicts in order to extend the territory under their control. In this manner, within a hundred years from Plassey the whole of India passed under British control as the result of battles in which the forces of the Europeans, like those of the Indian princes they fought, were predominantly Indian in composition.

Dr. Tara Chand, in his *History of the Freedom Movement*, notes that the composition of the army of an Indian chief was not very different from that of the East India Company's forces. The Indian chief's army consisted of a small contingent of mercenary European soldiers led by European officers, especially in the artillery arm, a quota of European-trained Indian infantry, and a large number of Indian horse and foot, fighting according to traditional ways. The army of the Company consisted of a contingent of European soldiers and an Indian infantry force trained by Europeans, the third element, the untrained trooper, was absent or formed an unimportant auxiliary force. The equipment of the antagonists was also similar: guns, muskets, matchlocks, rockets and cannon apart from the traditional swords spears, bows and arrows.

The Europeans were superior in respect of firearms. Indians had not yet acquired mastery of their tactical use. Nor could they easily replace losses in guns and ammunition because of lack of knowledge of science; they had to depend on foreign mercenaries who were unreliable. In tactics, too, the British were superior to the Indians but the fatal weakness on the Indian side was lack of morale. Dr. Tara Chand says: "The defeat of a British general was only a temporary setback of an individual. He was an expendable commodity replaceable by another. On the other hand the defeat of an Indian involved the overthrow of the whole policy. .In the Indian case the State was incorporated in the person who led the army. His failure implied the collapse of the State. Nor was there one State commanding the loyalty and allegiance of the whole country.

India was a medley of warring chiefs, a house divided against itself, one army contending against another and making no distinction in its blindness between Indian and foreigner. Behind the English commander stood the nation which might suffer mishaps with effects lasting for a shorter or longer period, but which could not be exterminated by defeat. India had to wait for over a century before similar relations between the individual and the State could develop and the consciousness arise that the claim of the nation has priority over the claim of the individual."

THE UPRISING OF 1857

The rudiments of a sense of nationhood were evident in the uprising of 1857, though it was largely confined to north India and was basically the last attempt of the feudal order to recover the status it had enjoyed earlier and had lost through internecine strife.

Large numbers of Indians of all classes participated in the uprising- from dispossessed princes and landholders to Rajputs, Brahmins, Maulvis and the ordinary Sepoy (from Sipahi, meaning soldier). It was not just a Sepoy Mutiny, as the British generally called it, though the Sepoys had grievances enough: they were paid a third of their British counterparts and had no avenues of training and advancement to higher positions, apart from the offence caused to religious susceptibilities by the newly introduced greased cartridge and by despatch for duty overseas.

An itemised account of why different sections of the population had become embittered is given in the manifesto issued in August 1857 by Bahadur Shah, the last Mughal, who had been reduced by the British to a non-entity and to whom the uprising held out the prospect of avenging the humiliation.

The manifesto accused the British Government of imposing exorbitant land revenue on landholders and of disgracing them by putting up their estates to public auction for non-payment; the British had ruined Indian merchants by monopolizing the trade in all valuable merchandise such as indigo and cloth; natives employed in the public services were given low pay and little respect; the introduction of articles manufactured in

England had thrown the weavers, cotton-dressers, carpenters, blacksmiths and shoemakers out of employment and reduced the native artisans to beggary: and finally, Hindu Pandits and Muslim Maulvis resented the encroachment of Christianity.

The following comment by Syed Ahmad Khan throws interesting light on the situation following the permission given to Christian missionaries in 1813 to settle in India and to spread the faith: "They used to frequent Mohammedan mosques and Hindu temples, as well as fairs, for the purpose of preaching, to which no one dared object for fear of the authorities. In certain districts, moreover, they were even allowed a Chaprasi (orderly) or policeman from the Thana (police office) to attend them. These persons did not content themselves with merely preaching the Gospel but used to allude to pious men and sacred places of other religions in a highly disrespectful manner which gave much offence and pain to their hearers and served to sow in the hearts of the people the seeds of disaffection to the Government."

The charge concerning the pauperization of Indian artisans, particularly of weavers, was only too true. Cotton manufacture provided employment to millions of people throughout the country; the Company itself ran 200 odd factories. There were regional centres which were renowned for specialization in particular fabrics. From 1813, however, following the Industrial Revolution in England, machine-made British fabrics began to flood the world's markets which had been India's customers. The Indian market itself was soon inundated by cloth of British manufacture which entered with a nominal duty while Indian textiles bore high duties in England. The British Governor-General himself said in 1832 : "Cotton-piece goods, for so many ages the staple manufacture of India, seem thus for ever lost."

However, some of the other grievances voiced against the British by the leaders of the 1857 uprising seem ironic from today's standpoint of humanism and democracy. Thus, a letter addressed to the Emperor of France by the agents of Nana Sahib, the Maratha Peshwa who was one of the leaders of the uprising, holds it against the British that they had interfered with the Hindu custom of Sati (the widow's immolation on the husband's funeral pyre) Actually this interference was at the express request of enlightened Indians, notably Ram Mohun

Roy. Another participant in the uprising, Birjis Qadr of Oudh, complained that the British "have brought the honour of the high classes on a level with that of the lower people—sweepers and leather-workers. In fact the English show preference to the lower castes over the higher classes. On the complaint of a sweeper or a leather-worker, they seize the person of even a Nawab and a Raja and disgrace him." Later, the nationalist movement was to adopt as a cardinal principle the assertion of human equality, not only against the racial superiority implicit in British rule but among Indians, through the abolition of all discrimination based on caste, including and in particular the abolition of the 'untouchability' traditionally ascribed to sweepers, leather-workers and some other communities.

1857 was premature for a full-fledged war of national liberation; and it was too late for the princes of India to forge the united front whose absence had led to foreign domination of the country in the first place. The uprising failed.

An important consequence of the uprising was that the British Crown, meaning Parliament, took over the governance of India from the East India Company. The last quarter of the nineteenth century was a time of British hegemony in international affairs. It saw the consolidation of the British empire, with its white-inhabited units graduating to dominion status while the coloured subjects in Asia and Africa were exploited for sustaining the imperial glory.

Consequences of British Rule

In the economic sphere, India not only missed the industrial revolution because of its prolonged feudal age and the subsequent reduction to colonial status, but also suffered directly as a result of England's industrial revolution as noticed earlier. Some development of economic infrastructure did take place in terms of the building of roads, railways, ports and telegraphic communications. But the pattern of this development was determined by the needs and interests of the imperial power, for the movement of troops and weapons, for taking away India's raw material, and for exporting to India, at great profit in the transaction, the same material in processed form or other

goods which Britain manufactured.

Pioneering Indian industrialists, such as Jamshedji Tata who wanted to start steel manufacture in India, had to struggle against great odds. The Government refused to give Tata the information available with the Geological Survey of India about the discoveries of iron ore and coal deposits in Bengal and Bihar. He had to hire geologists himself to prospect all over again, for several years, to secure the data already in the possession of the Government. Agriculture remained primitive, and millions perished in a series of famines during British rule.

In the social and cultural sphere the impact of British rule was considerable, but different in kind from India's earlier encounters with other civilizations. The earlier influxes, from the Aryan to the Mughal, were of people from geographically contiguous areas. Except in the case of brief raids as by Alexander or Mahmud of Ghazni, the newcomers made India their home, intermarried with the local population and became unmistakably Indian in their way of life. Each influx did produce tensions, but they were the creative tensions of mutual knowing, adjustment and eventual assimilation. In contrast, the home of the British who ruled India remained far-off Britain. There was no intermarriage on any significant scale. Till the end there was, with rare exceptions, an unbridgeable social gulf between the alien rulers and the people of India

Several British officials who administered the Indian districts not only took the trouble to learn the local language but also showed keen and intelligent interest in the cultural and socio-economic pattern prevailing in the districts. The gazetteers compiled by them are valuable sources of historical information. Some English scholars also studied the heritage of Indian philosophy and literature. William Jones's translation of Kalidasa's *Shakuntala* (1789) created a sensation among European intellectuals, and Edwin Arnold's *Light of Asia* helped many the world over, including English-educated Indians, to appreciate the Buddha's legacy to mankind. But the degree of such interest in the Indian heritage was, despite the Indo-British political connection, not markedly greater than of Emerson and Thoreau in America or of Romain Rolland in France. It was Max Mueller, a German, who did the most to make the Indian heritage accessible to the world.

Indians who were involved in the intellectual encounter with the West were, except for a minority of the strictly orthodox, receptive to the new world of rational inquiry, democratic ideas, science and technology opened up by the British advent.

Introduction of English Education

This receptivity was best expressed by Ram Mohun Roy (1772-1833), the father of India's modern enlightenment. In a letter of 1823 to Lord Amherst, the Governor-General, he voiced his distress at the Government's decision to found and support a new Sanskrit school in Calcutta which, he said, would only "impart such knowledge as is already current in India". He urged that the Government should, instead, "promote a more liberal and enlightened system of instruction, embracing mathematics, natural philosophy, chemistry, anatomy, with other useful sciences which may be accomplished with the sums proposed, by employing a few gentlemen of talent and learning educated in Europe and providing a college furnished with necessary books, instruments and other apparatus."

A decade later the Committee on Public Instruction was divided between the 'Orientalists' who wanted the East India Company's policy of encouraging Persian, Arabic and Sanskrit studies to be continued, and the 'Anglicists' who wanted to train native officials to conduct the routine clerical work of the Company and to act as intermediaries between the British and the bulk of the people. Thomas Macaulay, in his Minute on Education of 1835, threw his weight on the side of the Anglicists. "The languages of Western Europe," he said, "civilized Russia. I cannot doubt that they will do for the Hindoo what they have done for the Tartar...It is impossible for us, with our limited means, to attempt to educate the body of the people. We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern; a class of persons Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect. To that class we may leave it to refine the vernacular dialects of the country, to enrich those dialects with terms of science borrowed from the Western nomenclature, and to render them by degrees fit vehicles for

conveying knowledge to the great mass of the population."

The advocacy by Ram Mohun Roy and Macaulay prevailed. The decision in 1835 to use governmental funds to support education in the English language, employing a curriculum of modern knowledge, had a profound and lasting influence on the development of modern India.

Christian Missionary Work

English education in government-run schools and colleges was supplemented on a massive scale by the educational activity of Christian missionaries from Britain and from other Western countries. Till 1813 the East India Company had not encouraged missionary work, partly because the Company was engrossed in making profits and partly for fear that evangelical efforts might create hostility and unrest among Indians. In 1813, the British Parliament included a clause in the Charter of the Company under which "facilities shall be afforded by law to persons desirous of going to, or remaining in, India for the purpose of accomplishing those benevolent designs"- viz., the introduction of useful knowledge and religious and moral improvement.

Notable among the churchmen who came to India in the wake of this amendment of the Charter was Alexander Duff. He wanted to bring the higher circles of Indian society under Christian influence by opening institutions which would impart modern knowledge along with the teaching of the Christian religion. He secured the cooperation of Ram Mohun Roy in opening such a school in Calcutta, in 1830, though Ram Mohun Roy's interest was to promote modern learning, not Christian evangelism. Some of the oldest and distinguished colleges in India are those established by various Christian missions, following the lead given by Alexander Duff: Wilson College, Bombay (1832); Christian College, Madras (1837); Noble College, Masulipatam (1841); Hislop College, Nagpur (1844); and St. John's College, Agra (1853).

Besides the spread of education, the Christian missions, Catholic and Protestant, did much valuable work in the fields of medical relief, social service and the development of Indian languages. Some of the earliest dictionaries and grammars in

the Indian languages were compiled and published by missionaries, who also set up printing presses for bringing out Christian literature in the Indian languages.

The negative feature of Christian missionary work was the tendency to ridicule Hindu and Muslim beliefs and practices. Ram Mohun Roy commented on this: "During the last twenty years, a body of English gentlemen who are called missionaries have been publicly endeavouring, in several ways, to convert Hindoos and Mussulmans of this country into Christianity. The first way is that of publishing and distributing among the natives books, large and small, reviling both religions, and abusing and ridiculing the gods and saints of the former; the second way is that of standing in front of the doors of the natives or in the public roads to preach the excellency of that of others; the third way is that if any natives of low origin become Christians from the desire of gain or from any other motives, these gentlemen employ and maintain them as a necessary encouragement to others to follow their example. It is true that the apostles of Jesus Christ used to preach the superiority of the Christian religion to the natives of different countries. But we must recollect that they were not the rulers of those countries where they preached. Were the missionaries likewise to preach the Gospel and distribute books in countries not conquered by the English, such as Turkey, Persia, etc., which are much nearer England, they would be esteemed a body of men truly zealous in propagating religion and in following the example of the founders of Christianity. In Bengal, where the English are the sole rulers, and where the mere name of Englishman is sufficient to frighten people, an encroachment upon the rights of her poor, timid and humble inhabitants and upon their religion cannot be viewed in the eyes of God or the public as a justifiable act."

In the case of Islam, conversion had often been wholesale, when it came coercively at the point of the sword. When not so enforced, the conversions were largely, and understandably, from the castes and classes of Hindu society that had been ranked low, sat upon and exploited under the Brahmanical hierarchy. Conversions to Christianity reflected more consistently the inequity of the Hindu social stratification. Among the earliest successes of Christian evangelical industry were the

conversion of the Sudra Thevars and Pariahs (untouchables) in Tamil Nadu. In Bengal, on the other hand, the propagation of Christianity through modern educational institutions resulted in the conversion of a large number of persons belonging to the most noted families of Calcutta including Brahmins.

Missionary work was also effective among the tribal population of the hill areas, who had been neglected over the centuries by their countrymen of the plains, both Hindu and Muslim. The Christian missionaries were the first to take education and medical relief to the tribals, particularly to the Indo-Mongoloid groups of the north-east region. It is a tribute to missionary work that the rate of literacy in Mizoram, whose population is overwhelmingly tribal and Christian, is among the highest in India.

Vedanta and Christianity

An attempt at synthesizing the teaching of the Upanishads and of the New Testament, akin to the Bhakti-Sufi fusion of Hindu-Muslim devotion, was a characteristic response of the Indian ethos to the advent of Christianity.

Ram Mohun Roy was the first to articulate this response. Born in a Brahman family, he acquired knowledge of Persian, Arabic and Sanskrit besides English. He studied Vedanta, the Quran and the Bible and was struck by the fundamental unity in the essential teaching of all religions, including and in particular Vedanta and Christianity. He found no support in Vedanta for the current abuses in Hindu society such as discrimination against the lower castes and against women. He could not accept the Christian doctrine of the Trinity, but responded warmly to the humanitarian message of the New Testament.

Described by Monier Williams as "perhaps the first earnest-minded investigator of the science of comparative religion that the world has produced", Ram Mohun Roy commended the Christian ethic in a tract on *The Precepts of Jesus, the Guide to Peace and Happiness* : "A notion of the existence of a supreme superintending power, the author and preserver of this harmonious system who has organised and who regulates such an infinity of celestial and terrestrial objects, and a due estimation

of that law which teaches that man should do unto others as he would wish to be done by, reconcile us to human nature, and tend to render our existence agreeable to ourselves and profitable to the rest of mankind. The former of these sources of satisfaction, namely a belief in God, prevails generally, being derived either from tradition and instruction or from an attentive survey of the wonderful skill and contrivance displayed in the works of nature. The latter, although it is partially taught also in every system of religion with which I am acquainted, is principally inculcated by Christianity. This essential characteristic of the Christian religion I was for a long time unable to distinguish as such, amidst the various doctrines I found insisted upon in the writings of Christian authors and in the conversation of those teachers of Christianity with whom I have had the honour of holding communication. I feel persuaded that by separating from the other matters contained in the New Testament the moral precepts found in that book, these will be more likely to produce the desirable effect of improving the hearts and minds of men of different persuasions and degrees of understanding... This simple code of religion and morality is so admirably calculated to elevate men's ideas to high and liberal notions of one God who has equally subjected all living creatures—without distinction of caste, rank or wealth—to change, disappointment, pain and death, and has equally admitted all to be partakers of the bountiful mercies which he has lavished over nature, and is also so well fitted to regulate the conduct of the human race in the discharge of their various duties to God, to themselves and to society, that I cannot but hope the best effects from its promulgation in the present form."

Pioneers of Social Reform

Ram Mohum Roy founded in 1828 the Brahmo Samaj (Society of God), an organization which propagated a syncretist faith and contributed significantly to the reform of Hindu society. One of the first to found and edit newspapers and journals, Ram Mohun Roy propagated his ideas with tireless zeal till his death at Bristol, in England, in 1833. His crossing of the seas was a violation of the superstition which had grown

among Hindus that it was a sinful thing to do. He set an example which was to be widely followed by successive generations of men and women of Hindu families.

He turned the attention of Hindus from the beliefs and rituals of the Puranas, with their polytheism and idol worship, back to the higher monotheism and monism of the Upanishads. He attacked the immorality practised in the name of Tantrism (a perversion of Hinduism as well as Buddhism), the superstitious fear and propitiation of planets, ghosts and evil spirits, caste taboos ("The distinction of castes, introducing innumerable divisions and sub-divisions among the Hindus, has entirely deprived them of patriotic feeling"), the tying of widows to the funeral pyre of the husband and burning them, the denial of education to women, female infanticide and polygamy, much to the displeasure of the orthodox and even at the risk of his life. The poet Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1941), in a tribute to the father of the Hindu renascence, said: "In those early days he realized that the challenge of his age was the great challenge of unity. He discovered in the expanse of his generous heart, illumined by the light of knowledge, plenty of room for all communities Hindus, Muslims and Christians. In fact, his was the heart of India, for in him shone forth the truth of India. He considered him alone worthy of the name of Indian, who had respect for men of every faith, who accepted them all."

Debendranath Tagore (1817-1905), the next leader of the Brahmo Samaj, also preached a lofty theism which was a blend of Upanishadic and Christian teaching, and opposed both the idolatry of popular Hinduism and some of the tactics of the Christian missionaries. He described the position of the Brahmo Samaj in relation to orthodox Hinduism in these words: "We are worshippers of Brahma, the Supreme Being. In this we are at one with Orthodox Hinduism, for all our Sastras (scriptures) declare with one voice the supremacy of the worship of Brahma, enjoining image worship for the help of those who are incapable of grasping the highest Truth. Our first point of distinction is the positive aspect of our creed wherein worship is defined as consisting in 'Loving Him and doing the works He loveth' – this at once differentiates us from all religions and creeds which postulate a special or verbal revelation or wherein definite forms, rites or ceremonials are deemed essential one way or the

other. The negative aspect of our creed which prohibits the worship of any created being or thing as the Creator further distinguishes us from all who are addicted to the worship of Avatars or incarnations, or who believe in the necessity of mediators, symbols or idols of any description. . . We are in and of the great Hindu community and it devolves upon us by example and precept to hold up as a beacon the highest truths of the Hindu Sastras. In their light must we purify our heritage of customs, usages, rites and ceremonies and adapt them to the needs of our conscience and of our community. But we must beware of proceeding too fast in matters of social change, lest we be separated from the greater body whom we would guide and uplift."

Another leader of the Samaj, Keshub Chandra Sen (1841-1884), rebutted the tendency of Europeans to run down all Asiatics and their [illegible], by recalling that Christ himself was an Asiatic. "If [illegible] the Europeans persist in traducing our nationality and national character, and in distrusting and hating Orientalism, let me assure them that I do not in the least feel dishonored by such imputations. On the contrary, I rejoice, yea, I am proud, that I am an Asiatic. And was not Jesus Christ an Asiatic? Yes, and his disciples were Asiatics, and all the agencies primarily employed for the propagation of the Gospel were Asiatic. [illegible] the more this fact is pondered, the less I hope will be the antipathy and hatred of European Christians against Oriental nationalities, and the greater the interest of the Asiatics in the teachings of Christ. And thus in Christ, Europe and Asia, the East and the West, may learn to find harmony and unity."

Keshub Chandra Sen's eclectic faith embraced Islam as well as Christianity. "The principal feature of the religion of the Hindu is quiet contemplation, while that of the religion of the Mohammedan is constant excitement and active service. The one lives in a state of quiet communion with his God of peace; the other lives as a soldier, ever serving the Almighty Ruler and crusading against evil. These are the primary and essential elements of the two creeds, and if blended together would form a beautiful picture of true theology which will be realized in the future church of this country. As the two creeds undergo development, their errors and differences will disappear, and they

will harmoniously coalesce in their fundamental and vital principles. The future creed of India will be a composite faith, resulting from the union of the true and divine elements of Hinduism and Mahomedanism... As regards Christianity and its relation to the future church of India, I have no doubt in my mind that it will exercise great influence on the growth and formation of that church."

The social reform movement among Hindus was not confined to Bengal. Similar movements developed in other parts of the country, and attracted the growing middle class which emerged as a consequence of the administrative and economic measures introduced by the British Government

The Arya Samaj was established in 1875 by Dayanand Saraswati (1824-1883), who lived in Punjab though a Gujarati by birth. Taking his stand on the very Vedas which were invoked by orthodox Hindus, Dayanand tried to purify Hinduism from the dross of idol worship, untouchability, child marriage and the subjection of women to inferior status. He advocated women's education, free choice of husband by the woman, and the right of every person, not only Brahmans, to study the Vedas. The Arya Samaj did pioneering work in the spread of education, specially girls' education, and in improving the condition of women and of the lower castes.

Reform on similar lines was promoted in Maharashtra by Gopal Hari Deshmukh (1823-1892). He attributed the decline and decay of Hindu society to the neglect of the sciences: "We carry on with the same grinding mill as in the days of Vyasa (author of the Mahabharata) and the same plough as in the days of the Pandavas." He deplored the laziness and parasitical role of the Brahmins: "The Bhats (priests) are utterly useless. They thrive on charity and yet this is regarded as meritorious in our society. We are thereby supporting empty-headed pedants and encouraging ignorance. Better that these men are taught some useful avocation like tailoring or carpentry. They can then support themselves honourably." In his books and in the numerous articles he contributed to reform journals, Gopal Hari Deshmukh condemned the caste system, advocated women's education, and taught that morality is higher than the performance of ritual.

The next great reformer of the nineteenth century was Naren-

dranath Datta, better known as Vivekananda (1863-1902). He was a disciple of Sri Ramakrishna (1836-1886), the saintly mystic who saw God in a variety of manifestations — as a Divine Mother, as Rama and Krishna, as Muhammad, as Jesus Christ —and worshipped Him in the manner of various religionists including Jains and Buddhists, in each case suiting his dress, food and meditation to the particular tradition. He taught the recognition of the ego in order to realize its unreality: "The vegetables in the cooking pot move and leap till the children think they are living beings. But the grown-ups explain that they are not moving of themselves; if the fire be taken away they soon cease to stir. So is the ignorance that thinks 'I am the doer'."

Vivekananda founded the Ramakrishna Mission, dedicated to social work for the upliftment of the poor millions as well as to religious education. Vivekananda tirelessly preached the gospel of social service: "Do you not remember what the Bible says—'If you cannot love your brother whom you have seen, how can you love God whom you have not seen?' If you cannot see God in the human face, how can you see Him in the clouds, or in images made of dull, dead matter?" Vivekananda condemned the notions of the ritual purity and the feasting and fasting of the upper castes: "Our religion is in the kitchen. Our God is in the cooking-pot, and our religion is: 'Don't touch me, I am holy'." While deprecating image worship, "described in all our Sastras as the lowest of all the low forms of worship," Vivekananda cautioned against aggressive denunciation of the practice: "If you are fit to worship God-without-Form, discarding any external help, do so, but why do you condemn others who cannot do the same?"

The Servants of India Society was founded in 1905 by Gopal Krishna Gokhale (1866-1915), who urged financial and administrative reforms on the principle of 'No taxation without representation.' The Society's aims were famine relief, the spread of education, Hindu-Muslim unity, and the uplift of the lowest castes.

The first and foremost leader of the movement for social reform and modernisation among the Muslims was Syed Ahmad Khan (1817-1898). The Muslim community had been slow in taking to the study of modern knowledge through English. He urged his co-religionists to come out of the isolation which was

keeping them backward, and to acquire scientific knowledge: "The adoption of the new system of education does not mean the renunciation of Islam. The Prophet said that knowledge is the heritage of the believer, and that he should acquire it wherever he can find it. He also said that the Muslims should seek knowledge even if they have to go to China to find it. It is obvious that the Prophet was not referring to theological knowledge in these sayings. China at that time was one of the most civilized countries of the world, but it was a non-Muslim country and could not teach the Muslims anything about their own religion. Islam, Islamic culture and the Muslims themselves prospered as long as the Prophet was followed in respect of these teachings; when we ceased to take interest in the knowledge of others, we began to decline in every respect. Did the early Muslims not take to Greek learning avidly? Did this in any respect undermine their loyalty to Islam?"

Syed Ahmad Khan founded in 1875 the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College, which was raised to the status of a university in 1921 as the Muslim University of Aligarh. He attacked the Purdah system, symbolizing the seclusion of women, and the tendency to attribute supernatural powers and miracles to the Prophet and to saints. He stood for social harmony between the communities: "Do you not inhabit the same land? Remember that the words Hindu and Mohammedan are only meant for religious distinction; otherwise all persons, whether Hindu or Mohammedan, even the Christians who reside in this country, are all in this particular respect belonging to one and the same nation."

Indian National Congress

The founding of the Indian National Congress in 1885 was, interestingly, at the initiative of a liberal-minded Englishman, Allan Octavian Hume, who proposed the formation of such a forum to educated Indians. A retired official, Hume felt that the British Government was dangerously out of touch with the Indian people and that there should be a recognised channel of communication between the two. Hume was among the honourable exceptions to the prevailing attitude of racial superiority on

the part of the British towards the people they had subjugated. Another, Henry Cotton, said in 1904: "It is a grave symptom that the official body in India has now succumbed as completely as the non-official to anti-native prejudices."

W.C. Bonnerji, an eminent lawyer of Calcutta, presided over the first session of the Congress, held in Bombay. It marked the beginning of a new era of organised expression of national self-respect and of the demand for democratic self-government. In the early years the Congress represented the new urban middle class and the delegates to its annual sessions mainly comprised lawyers, teachers and newspaper editors. The resolutions adopted by the Congress asked for expansion of the central and provincial legislatures, the introduction of a large proportion of elected members, and the enlargement of their functions. The Congress also drew attention to the burden of the military expenditure imposed on India, tariff and foreign exchange policies which were unfair to the Indian economy, and the need for separation of the judiciary from the executive.

The Muslim community was divided in its response to the emergence of the Congress. Syed Ahmad Khan, though he stood for social reform and modernisation of the Muslim community, was apprehensive of the democracy that was advocated by the Congress. He feared that it would result in Hindu domination: "The first requisite of a representative government is that the voters should possess the highest degree of homogeneity. In a form of government which depends for its functioning upon majorities, it is necessary that the people should have no differences in the matters of nationality, religion, ways of living, customs, mores, culture and historical traditions Only when such homogeneity is present can representative government work or prove beneficial. It should not even be thought of when these conditions do not exist. I consider the experiment which the Indian National Congress wants to make fraught with dangers and suffering for all the nationalities of India, specially for the Muslims."

He wanted the Muslim community to offer its loyal co-operation to the British Government. This attitude was welcome to the British authorities, and was actively encouraged by such Englishmen as Theodore Beck, principal of the Aligarh college from 1886.

On the other hand, Badruddin Tyabji (1844-1906), a prominent Bombay barrister who belonged to an Arab family that had settled down in India, welcomed the formation of the Congress : "My own views are that in regard to general political questions affecting India as a whole, it is the duty of all educated and public-spirited citizens to work together, irrespective of their caste, colour or creed." He resisted the efforts made by the British rulers as well as some fellow-Muslims to wean him away from the Congress. When Syed Ameer Ali invited Tyabji to attend a Muslim political conference proposed to be held at Calcutta, he replied: "You are no doubt aware that I have always been of opinion that in regard to political questions at large, the Mohammadans should make a common cause with their fellow countrymen of other creeds and persuasions, and I cannot help deprecating any disunion on such questions between ourselves and the Hindus and Parsees. If, therefore, the proposed Mohammadan Conference is started simply as a rival to the National Congress, I should entirely oppose it, as it seems to me that the proper course is to join the Congress and take part in its deliberations."

Badruddin Tyabji presided over the Madras session of the Congress in 1887 and continued to play an important part in the oganisation till his death.

The first large-scale popular agitation against British rule took place in the first decade of the twentieth century, over the partition of Bengal province in 1905. Ostensibly meant to improve the administration by breaking up an unwieldly province, it was in fact designed to stem the tide of nationalism. Lord Curzon, the then Viceroy, said in a despatch to London: "Calcutta is the centre from which the Congress party is manipulated throughout the whole of Bengal and indeed the whole of India. Its best wire-pullers and its most frothy orators all reside here. The perfection of their machinery is truly remarkable. They dominate public opinion in Calcutta, they affect the High Court. They frighten the local Government and they are not sometimes without serious influence upon the Government of India...The Bengalis who like to think of themselves as a nation, and who dream of a future when the British will have been turned out and a Bengali Babu will be installed in Government House, Calcutta, of course bitterly resent any disruption

that will be likely to interfere with the realization of this dream. If we are weak enough to yield to their clamour now we shall not be able to dismember or reduce Bengal again, and you will be cementing and solidifying in the eastern flank of India a force already formidable and certain to be a source of increasing trouble in future."

The partition of Bengal was designed also to divide Muslims from Hindus and thus weaken the nationalist movement. Addressing a gathering at Dacca, Curzon said: "When a proposal is put forward which would make Dacca the centre and possibly the capital of a new and self-sufficing administration, which must give to the people of these districts by reason of their numerical strength and their superior culture, the preponderating voice in the province so created, which would invest the Mohammadans in Eastern Bengal with a unity which they have not enjoyed since the days of old Musalman viceroys and kings, which must develop local interests and trade to a degree that is impossible so long as you remain the appendage of another administration—can it be that the people of these districts are to be advised by their leaders to sacrifice all these great advantages from fear? Do you mean to be so blind to your future as to repudiate the offer?"

It was during the anti-partition agitation that the weapon of boycott of foreign goods was forged. All over Bengal, people gathered at temples and took the pledge of Swadeshi (use of Indian-made goods). The Government's repressive measures included the threat of stopping the grants-in-aid to educational institutions and disaffiliation by the university of schools which did not prevent pupils from participating in the agitation in general and the boycott activity in particular. At one place school students who had a scuffle with an European employee were ordered to be flogged. Public meetings were forcibly dispersed by policemen wielding the Lathi (long stave).

Poet Rabindranath Tagore expressed the popular feeling in verse: "The more they tighten their fetters, the more will our fetters snap; the more their eyes redden, the more will our eyes open." (The partition was eventually annulled in 1912.)

The resentment against the repressive measures of the Government led some extremists to organise secret societies for violent retaliation. This was the beginning of the terrorist

movement, with which the future sage of Pondicherry, Aurobindo Ghose, was associated at an early stage in his life. This movement resulted in symbolic acts of violence against prominent British individuals and their Indian collaborators from time to time.

The Congress protested against the repressive measures and approved the boycott movement as "the only constitutional and effective means left to them (the people of Bengal) of drawing the attention of the British public."

Hindu-Muslim rioting broke out at certain places in East Bengal where the British encouraged communal pride and jealousy among Muslims. The latter did not respond favourably to the anti-partition agitation, some of whose methods such as the taking of vows at Kali temples and Rakhi Bandhan (the tying of a coloured thread on the wrist as a symbol of solidarity) had given the movement a Hindu religious colouring.

The Muslim League

The foundation of the British policy of divide and rule was laid when Lord Minto, Curzon's successor, told a Muslim deputation in October 1906 that he was in favour of accepting their claim to representation in the legislative councils not only commensurate with their numerical strength but with their political importance and the value of the contribution which they made to the empire. Minto also recognised their right to send their representatives through separate electorates: "Any electoral representation in India would be doomed to mischievous failure which aimed at granting a personal enfranchisement regardless of the beliefs and traditions of the communities composing the population of the continent."

This was followed by the formation of the Muslim League in December 1906, under the inspiration of the British Government and the leadership of one of its chief supporters, the Aga Khan. Indian Muslims thus came to be divided into the nationalist camp of the Congress and the separatist camp of the Muslim League.

The first world war, during which Britain needed the wholehearted cooperation of India in the war effort, brought an assur-

ance in August 1917 that the policy of His Majesty's Government was that "of increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration, and of the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realization of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire." But the reforms actually offered, and later embodied in the Government of India Act of 1919, made barely one half of the provincial administration responsible to the legislature to be elected on limited franchise, while Central administration of British India was to remain wholly autocratic since the Governor General could ignore the recommendations of the Central legislature. There was to be no change in princely India, comprising more than 500 autocratic States over whom the Crown exercised paramount power.

There was severe disappointment with these 'reforms', and the Government responded to the consequent agitation with the enactment of the Rowlatt Act so named after the English judge who headed a committee "to investigate and report on the nature and extent of criminal conspiracies connected with the revolutionary movement in India and to advise as to the legislation necessary to deal effectively with them." The Act gave extraordinary powers of search and arrest, trial in camera and consideration of evidence not admissible under the law of evidence. It was to lead the agitation against the Rowlatt Act that Mahatma Gandhi first entered India's public life.

MAHATMA GANDHI

Born in a family of the Vaisya (trader) caste in Gujarat, Gandhi (1869-1948) imbibed the spirit of Vaishnavite Hinduism from his pious mother. His father, who was prime minister of a small princely state, sent him to England to study law. There he became a member of the London Vegetarian Society and was introduced by English theosophists to the Bhagavad Gita in Sir Edwin Arnold's English translation. He studied the New Testament and often attended church to hear good preachers of the day.

Two years after returning to India and engaging in legal practice, Gandhi left for South Africa to assist a Gujarati Mus-

lim merchant in a court case. It was the experience of the racial discrimination and injustice suffered by Indians in South Africa which led Gandhi to develop the technique of non-violent resistance to evil which he called Satyagraha (truth insistence), entailing the cheerful acceptance of suffering for converting the heart of the wrongdoer. Gandhi was deeply influenced in the development of this technique by the Sermon on the Mount, the Christian pacifism of Tolstoy's *The kingdom of God is within you*, and by Thoreau's essay on Civil Disobedience. Ruskin's *Unto this last* brought home to him the significance of manual labour as an expression of solidarity on the part of the educated with the toiling masses. He simplified his diet and dress, took a vow of celibacy and disciplined himself with fasting and prayer. Gandhi undertook a tour of India to enlist support for the cause of the Indians in South Africa. He met and made a deep impression on nationalist leaders such as Surendranath Bannerjea, Ranade, Gokhale and Tilak. Gandhi's final return to India in 1915 transformed the nature of the freedom movement.

Though a Hindu to the innermost depths of his being, Gandhi had no use for dogma, custom or ritual. "After long study and experience," he said in 1928, "I have come to these conclusions : (i) that all religions are true; (ii) all religions have some error in them; and (iii) all religions are almost as dear to me as my own Hinduism. My veneration for other faiths is the same as for my own faith. Consequently the thought of conversion is impossible." In this, as in his view of Indian culture, Gandhi represented the Indian ethos at its best. "Indian culture," he wrote, "is neither Hindu, Islamic nor any other, wholly. It is a fusion of all." Again, "I want the culture of all lands to be blown about my house as freely as possible. But I refuse to be blown off my feet by any."

Gandhi dedicated himself to working "for an India in which the poorest shall feel it is their country, in whose making they have an effective voice, an India in which there shall be no high class and low class of people, an India in which all communities shall live in perfect harmony...There can be no room in such an India for the curse of untouchability or the curse of intoxicating drinks and drugs...Women will enjoy the same rights as men. This is the India of my dreams."

The title Mahatma (great soul) was first applied to Gandhi by Rabindranath Tagore while welcoming him in 1915 to the university established by the poet at Santiniketan. Tagore differed at times with Gandhi, as on the latter's call for the burning of foreign cloth which Tagore could not endorse. But the poet's admiration and regard for the moral awakener of the Indian people was profound: "The Mahatma has won the heart of India with his love. He has given us a vision of the Sakti (power) of truth. For that our gratitude to him is unbounded. We read about truth in books; we talk about it, but it is indeed a red-letter day when we see it face to face. The golden rod which can awaken our country in Truth and Love is not a thing which can be manufactured by the nearest goldsmith. To the wielder of that rod our profound salutations!"

Tagore's own prayer for India, in *Gitanjali* which won him the Nobel Prize for literature, is similar to the India of Gandhi's dreams:

> Where the mind is without fear and the head is held high;
> Where knowledge is free,
> Where the world has not been broken up into fragments by narrow domestic walls;
> Where words come out from the depth of truth;
> Where tireless striving stretches its arms towards perfection;
> Where the clear stream of reason has not lost its way into the dreary desert sand of dead habit;
> Where the mind is led forward by Thee into ever-widening thought and action -
> Into that heaven of freedom, my Father, let my country awake.

In the words of Jawaharlal Nehru, "Tagore was primarily the man of thought, Gandhi of concentrated and ceaseless activity. Both, in their different ways, had a world outlook, and both were at the same time wholly Indian. They seemed to represent different but harmonious aspects of India and to complement one another."

NON-VIOLENT MASS ACTION

The Rowlatt Act dismayed Gandhi, who had since his return to India applied himself to amelioration of the conditions of the indigo cultivators in the Champaran district of Bihar, the textile mill workers in Ahmedabad, and the peasants of the Kaira district of Gujarat. He regarded the Act as "destructive of the elementary rights of the individual" and called upon the people to "refuse civilly to obey" the legislation if enacted. When it was, Gandhi called for a countrywide Hartal (suspension of economic activity) on a specified day. The response was overwhelming. People of all communities joined the movement against the Rowlatt Act. Gandhi and the poetess Sarojini Naidu made speeches in a mosque in Bombay, and the Arya Samaj leader Shraddanand was invited to address a Muslim gathering in Delhi's Jama Masjid. Nationalist sentiment and unity were strengthened by the indignation roused throughout the country by the massacre at Jalianwala Bagh in Amritsar in April 1919 in which 379 persons were killed (according to the official version) in the firing on an unarmed protest gathering.

The next mass movement was on the issue of the Khilafat. Indian Muslims were deeply perturbed at the prospective treatment by the victorious Allies of the Sultan of Turkey, who as Caliph was their religious head. According to Gandhi it would be a poor concept of patriotism if one section of the nation failed to come to the aid of the other in the hour of its need; and in the case of Khilafat the cause was just. Congress and Muslim leaders of all groups issued a call for non-violent non-cooperation, in protest against the terms of the Turkish peace treaty as well as in support of the demand for Swaraj (self-government) for India. The six-point programme of the non-cooperation movement, which began in August 1920, called for: boycott of the law courts by lawyers who would set up popular tribunals for administering justice; boycott of schools and colleges owned or aided by the Government and the establishment of national educational institutions; boycott of elections; surrender of honours and titles and boycott of official functions; boycott of British goods and the encouragement of Swadeshi, especially Khaddar (hand-spun, hand-woven cloth); and the prohibition of liquor through the boycott of liquor shops.

The movement generated an unprecedented wave of enthusiasm throughout the country. Rajendra Prasad, C. Rajagopalachari and other eminent lawyers gave up their lucrative practice. Thousands of students left Government schools and colleges and many national educational institutions were founded where teachers volunteered to work on a pittance. A number of students of the Aligarh University left their studies at the bidding of Muhammad Ali, Gandhi's comrade-in-arms in the Khilafat movement, and founded the Jamia Millia Islamia which later shifted to Delhi. Among the teachers at the Jamia was Dr. Zakir Husain, who was later to be elected President of the Indian Republic. Subhas Chandra Bose resigned from the Indian Civil Service and worked as Principal of the National College, Calcutta.

Though it had been hoped that the Khilafat movement would draw Indian Muslims more fully into the mainstream of nationalism and forge Hindu-Muslim unity, the mixture of religion with politics had some unfortunate consequences. To Gandhi no activity was separable from religion and he wanted to spiritualise politics. But not all people could understand, let alone internalise, his non-sectarian religion of human brotherhood.

The Khilafatist meetings, where the wrongs done to Islam were recounted, served to intensify sectarian religious feeling. When the movement reached Kerala in 1921, the Muslims of Malabar known as Moplahs rose in violent revolt and committed atrocities not only on officials of the administration but also on their Hindu neighbours. Hindu-Muslim relations suffered a set-back instead of being strengthened. The reservations with which Jawaharlal Nehru had joined the movement turned out to be justified.

The movement was called off in 1922 by Gandhi following an incident at Chauri Chaura, in Uttar Pradesh, where a procession of demonstrators set fire to the police station, burning down the building and its occupants. This negated the non-violent basis of the movement and Gandhi owned moral responsibility.

Though the movement ended in failure, securing neither Swaraj nor the restitution of the Caliphate (which the Turks themselves were to abolish in 1924), it was a landmark in the

country's history. It established the possibility of mass mobilization for an unarmed revolt against foreign rule. Gandhi opened up an alternative both to the petition-making of the early phase of the Indian National Congress and to terrorist activity. The new technique was employed with increasing success in the further rounds of Satyagraha and civil disobedience.

Above all, Gandhi brought the Congress close to the rural masses. "He sent us to the villages," Jawaharlal Nehru wrote, "and the countryside hummed with the activity of innumerable messengers of the new gospel of action. The peasant was shaken up and he began to emerge from his quiescent shell. The effect on us was different but equally far-reaching, for we saw, for the first time as it were, the villager in the intimacy of his mud-hut, and with the stark shadow of hunger always pursuing him. We learnt our Indian economics more from these visits than from books and learned discourses. The emotional experience we had already undergone was emphasized and confirmed, and henceforward there could be no going back for us to our old life or our old standards."

Nationalism versus Separatism

Notwithstanding the efforts of Gandhi and Nehru to forge Hindu-Muslim unity, the separatist strain persisted among a section of both the communities. Muhammad Iqbal (1873-1938), the great Urdu poet and philosopher who also took part in public life, shared Syed Ahmad Khan's distrust of the movement for democratic self-government. In his presidential address at the Allahabad session of the Muslim League in December 1930, he quoted Renan's statement that "a great aggregation of men, sane of mind and warm of heart, creates a moral consciousness which is called a nation", and went on to say: "It might have been a fact in India if the teaching of Kabir and the Divine Faith of Akbar had seized the imagination of the masses of the country. Experience, however, shows that the various caste units and religious units in India have shown no inclination to sink their respective individualities in a larger whole...Part of her people have cultural affinities with nations in the east and part

with nations in the middle and west of Asia."

After discussing the demand for the creation of "a Muslim India within India". Iqbal said: "Personally I would go further. I would like to see the Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan amalgamated into a single State. Self-government within the British empire or without the British empire, the formation of a consolidated North-West Indian Muslim State appears to me to be the final destiny of the Muslims, at least of North West India." The words were to prove prophetic. Following the partition of the subcontinent in 1947 and the emergence of India and Pakistan as sovereign States, the denial of democratic rights to the majority of Pakistan's population in the eastern wing led to the break-up of Pakistan in 1971 and it now comprises precisely the provinces listed by Iqbal.

Muhammad Ali Jinnah (1876-1948), the founder of Pakistan, began as a nationalist Muslim. His father was a merchant in Karachi and sent him to England for training as a barrister. In England he was attracted by Liberalism, and admired the Indian Parsi nationalist, Dadabhai Naoroji, who was elected to the British Parliament from Central Finsbury. On return to India, Jinnah set up practice in Bombay, joined the Indian National Congress, and served his political apprenticeship as honorary secretary to Dadabhai Naoroji during his term as Congress President in 1906. Jinnah was a valued friend of Gopal Krishna Gokhale, the moderate nationalist leader of Maharashtra, and continued to work for Hindu-Muslim understanding even after he joined the Muslim League in 1913.

Speaking at the Muslim League session at Lahore in 1924, Jinnah said: "We must not forget that one essential requisite condition to achieve Swaraj is political unity between the Hindus and the Mohammadans. I am almost inclined to say that India will get Dominion Responsible Government the day the Hindus and Muslims are united." Gandhi endorsed this view: "I agree with Mr. Jinnah that Hindu-Muslim unity means Swaraj." About the outbreaks of Hindu-Muslim conflict from time to time, usually on the occasion of religious festivals or over cow-killing and music before mosques, Jinnah told a joint select committee of the British Parliament : "If you ask me, very often these riots are based on some misunderstanding, and it is

because the police have taken one side or the other." As a rationalist, he kept away from the Khilafat movement.

Later, however, Jinnah became an implacable separatist. Perhaps it was a reaction to the manifestations of Hindu revivalism such as Shuddhi (reconversion to Hinduism), or the growing popularity of the Hindu Mahasabha. A partition of some provinces was being considered as a possibility by some Hindu leaders also. Lala Lajpat Rai, for instance, proposed in 1924 "that the Punjab should be partitioned into two provinces, the Western Punjab with a large Muslim majority to be a Muslim-governed province, and the Eastern Punjab with a large Hindu-Sikh majority to be a non-Muslim governed province... Under my scheme the Muslims will have four Muslim states: (i) the Pathan province or the North-West Frontier; (ii) Western Punjab; (iii) Sind; and (iv) Eastern Bengal."

By the mid-'thirties Jinnah had taken the position that the League was the only representative organisation of Indian Muslims, with the corollary of denying the Congress claim that it represented the Indian people irrespective of race, creed or culture. Jinnah's claim was not borne out by the elections held in 1937, on limited suffrage, under the Government of India Act of 1935. The League was able to win only 109 seats out of the 485 allotted to Muslims. The Congress was able to form popular Ministries without entering into a coalition with the League even in provinces with large Muslim populations.

Towards the close of 1939 Jinnah told a delegation of Muslim students from Cambridge who were advocates of the creation of Pakistan: "I am getting more and more convinced that you are right in spite of myself." Pakistan was an acronym coined in 1930 by Chaudhari Rahmat Ali, a Muslim student at Cambridge, by taking 'P' from Punjab, 'A' from Afghania (standing for the North-West Frontier Province), 'K' from Kashmir, 'S' from Sind and 'tan' from Baluchistan. It means 'land of the pure'.

Though a late convert to the idea of Pakistan, it was Jinnah who presided over the Lahore session of the Muslim League in March 1940 which adopted the resolution asking for the partition of India : "No constitutional plan would be workable in this country or acceptable to the Muslims unless it is designed on the following basic principles, *viz.*, that geographically contig-

uous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted, with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary, that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority as in the North-Western and Eastern Zones of India should be grouped to constitute Independent States in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign."

The two-nation theory was propounded by Jinnah in his presidential address : "The Hindus and Muslims belong to two different religious philosophies, social customs, literatures ..To yoke together two such nations under a single state, one as a numerical minority and the other as a majority, must lead to growing discontent and final destruction of any fabric that may be so built up for the government of such a state...Mussalmans are a nation according to any definition of a nation and they must have their homelands, their territory, and their state."

It was not a section of Muslims alone who entertained the two-nation theory. Savarkar, presiding over a session of the Hindu Mahasabha in 1937, had said : "India cannot be assumed today to be a unitarian and homogeneous nation, but on the contrary there are two nations in the main: the Hindus and the Muslims. These two antagonistic nations are living side by side in India."

The Congress, with its multi-religious membership and leaders drawn from both the major communities as well as Christians, Sikhs, Parsees and others, strenuously opposed both Muslim and Hindu separatism.

Foremost among the nationalist Muslims was Maulana Azad (1888-1958). Born in Mecca, of an Indian father belonging to a family of eminent theologians and an Arab mother, young Azad completed the traditional course of Islamic studies by the age of 15, in a third of the time taken ordinarily. He came to be respected for his Arabic and Persian scholarship, with which he combined a rationalist outlook. He made a sustained effort to free Islam from the shackles of its medieval interpretations, and to emancipate Muslims from subjection to the west. In 1912 Maulana Azad started an Urdu weekly, *Al-Hilal*. The views propagated by him were disapproved by the British Government which demanded securities and finally forfeited the printing press in 1914. Azad then brought out another weekly, *Al-Balagh*, but this too closed in 1916 when he was interned. Through

these journals and numerous pamphlets, he urged that "the seventy million Muslims of India should so combine with their two hundred million Hindu brethren of India that the two together should form one people and one nation." He saw no contradiction between being a good Muslim and a good Indian: "I am a Muslim and I feel proud that I have inherited glorious traditions extending over 1300 years. I am not prepared to allow its least part to be lost...With all these sentiments I possess another sentiment, which has been produced by the realities of my life. The spirit of Islam does not prohibit it. On the other hand, it directs me this way. I feel proud that I am an Indian. I am a part of the indivisibly united nationality of India. I am an important element in this united nationality Without me the temple of its greatness remains incomplete." Maulana Azad was twice president of the Congress and served as free India's Education Minister till his death in February 1958.

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

In December 1929 the Congress defined its goal as complete independence for India, instead of self-government within the British empire. The Independence resolution, moved by Gandhi and adopted by the Lahore session under the presidentship of Jawaharlal Nehru (1889-1964), said that "the word Swaraj in Article 1 of the Congress Constitution shall mean Complete Independence." January 26, 1930, was observed throughout the country as Independence Day.

Nehru's election as president of the Congress at the age of 41, on the eve of the second Civil Disobedience Movement, was a measure of the impression he had made on the country and on the older leaders, particularly Gandhi. Born in a Kashmiri Pandit (Brahman) family at Allahabad, young Jawaharlal studied in England at Harrow and Cambridge before taking his law degree in London. His father, Motilal Nehru, was an eminent lawyer and Congressman. On return to India in 1912 Jawaharlal practised law and joined the Congress. He was powerfully attracted by Mahatma Gandhi and threw himself into the non-cooperation and civil disobedience movement of the early 'twenties.

During a trip to Europe in 1926-27, which included a visit to Soviet Russia, he came in touch with Socialists and Communists. As a result of his conversations and study of Marxist literature, he became convinced that the removal of India's poverty required not only freedom but also economic planning on socialist lines with emphasis on industrialization. This was at variance with Mahatma Gandhi's ideal of a decentralized economy based on self-sufficient villages. Nor did Gandhi and Nehru agree in their attitude to religion or to non-violence as a creed. These differences notwithstanding, there was a deep bond of affection between them.

The second Civil Disobedience Movement began early in 1930 with a symbolic breaking of the salt law, inaugurated by a march to the seashore by Mahatma Gandhi. The Government responded with repression, but the freedom volunteers bore the brutal police attacks without fear or retaliation, and cheerfully courted imprisonment. As Louis Fischer wrote, ' The British beat the Indians with batons and rifle butts. The Indians neither cringed nor retreated. That made England powerless and India invincible."

A constructive interlude followed when the British Government brought into force in 1937 the provincial part of the Government of India Act of 1935, envisaging an Indian federation and autonomous provinces with responsible government. The Congress, which established its pre-eminent position in the elections to the assemblies held on limited franchise, formed popular Ministries in several provinces. They undertook a programme of reforms which included relief of agricultural indebtedness, expansion of education and adult literacy, and prohibition. But on the outbreak of the second world war in September 1939 the Congress Ministries resigned in protest against India's involvement in the war without a clear statement of Britain's war aims which, the Congress demanded, should include self-government for India since the war was ostensibly being fought for freedom and democracy. The mission of Sir Stafford Cripps, who was sent by Britain's War Cabinet in 1942 to negotiate with Indian leaders, ended in failure.

In August 1942 the All India Congress Committee adopted a resolution demanding the withdrawal of British rule and sanctioning a mass struggle on non-violent lines for the vindication

of India's inalienable right to independence. Some British and other critics ascribed the assertion of the demand for freedom, at a time when the Allied powers were suffering reverses, to defeatism on the part of Mahatma Gandhi and other leaders of the Congress "To ascribe to Gandhiji the attitude of a defeatist", says Dr. Tara Chand, "was quite wrong. Gandhiji was an optimist by nature, and his belief in the triumph of right was unshakeable. Between the two parties in the war he had no doubt that the cause of the Allied nations was just, and he ardently desired its success. So far as Britain was concerned he was even sentimentally attached to its people and would not, even in thought, wish them ill. What, however, he denounced openly and without reserve was Britain's imperialist role. For him British imperialism was the same kind of aggressive domination over the peoples of Asia and Africa as the aggression of Hitler, Mussolini and the Japanese militarists. Gandhiji also held that the Japanese had entered the war against Britain because they were envious of the British Empire and wanted its destruction, otherwise they had no reason to invade India. It was, therefore, possible for India to dissuade them from attacking India if the British voluntarily liquidated their empire in India. But in case the Japanese did not desist from their plans, two courses were open: (i) the Allied forces could remain in India to resist the Japanese, with Indian consent; (ii) India would offer total non-violent non-cooperation on the widest scale to render Japanese occupation impossible."

On the adoption of the Quit India resolution the Government arrested all the Congress leaders. This resulted in a massive protest movement throughout the country. It was a spontaneous revolution, not confined to non-violent methods. Abroad, Subhas Chandra Bose, who had escaped from internment in his Calcutta home in 1941, formed an Indian National Army, with Japanese assistance, to liberate India. On the surrender of Japan in 1945, officers of the I.N.A. taken prisoner by the British were put on trial. The defence by nationalist lawyers culminated in their release. In February 1946 some officers and men of the British Indian Navy mutinied at Bombay.

Meanwhile the Labour Party, many of whose members had for years been sympathetic to the Indian national movement, came to power in Britain whose economy had been en-

feebled by the war. Following the establishment of the Labour Government in Britain elections were held again in India in 1946. The Congress secured an overwhelming majority and formed Ministries in most of the provinces, the notable exceptions being Bengal and Punjab—provinces which were soon to be divided as part of the partition of the sub-continent. The Labour Government sent out a parliamentary goodwill delegation to study the situation, and subsequently a Cabinet Mission to negotiate a political settlement.

During the two years between the arrest of the Congress leaders in 1942 and their release in 1944, the Muslim League had entrenched itself. When the Quit India resolution was passed, Jinnah deplored it as an attempt " to coerce the British Government to surrender to a Congress Raj...Britain dare not sacrifice the Muslims." He called upon Muslims not to join the protest movement against the arrest of nationalist leaders. In the 1946 elections the League won 86 per cent of the Muslim seats in the provincial assemblies against only 25 per cent in 1937.

The Muslim League declared the 16th of August 1946 as Direct Action Day on which meetings were to be held to proclaim the determination to achieve Pakistan. The day witnessed widespread Hindu-Muslim clashes and rioting in Calcutta which continued for four days and required the calling in of the army. The fire soon spread to the Noakhali and Tipperah districts of eastern Bengal, and to Bihar. On August 24 the Viceroy, Lord Wavell, announced the formation of an Interim Government at the Centre, in Delhi, headed by Jawaharlal Nehru, which the Muslim League eventually joined in October. But the coalition was a divided house and could not function effectively. The Muslim League did not participate in the Constituent Assembly which was formed as part of the plan for the transfer of power.

PARTITION AND INDEPENDENCE

In February 1947, Prime Minister Attlee made a statement in the House of Commons that the Government had decided to transfer power to Indian hands not later than June 1948. A

new Viceroy, Lord Mountbatten, arrived in March 1947 and tried to persuade Jinnah to agree to a federal scheme which would preserve the unity of India. The story of this unsuccessful effort was narrated by Lord Mountbatten in the course of a Nehru Memorial Lecture at Cambridge on November 14, 1968 : "I first tried very hard to revive the Cabinet Mission plan with him (Jinnah) in order to retain the unity of India, but he wouldn't hear of it. He insisted on the partition of India into a Muslim State, to be called Pakistan, and the very large non-Muslim residue, which he used to refer to as Hindustan. He wished to include not only the provinces, like Sind, which had a very large Muslim majority, but also Bengal and the Punjab which had very large non-Muslim minorities. I told him that if he insisted on partitioning India he would have to agree to partition these two provinces and only to include the Muslim majority areas in Pakistan. He objected violently to 'a moth-eaten Pakistan'. He pointed out that it was unreasonable to divide these two great provinces, as their inhabitants were primarily Bengalis or Punjabis, which was more important than whether they were Muslims or Hindus. I then applied the same logic to the whole of India, claiming that a man was an Indian first and foremost before he was a Muslim or a Hindu. Therefore the whole of India should not be partitioned. This annoyed him... I tried to tempt Jinnah by offering him Bengal and the Punjab unpartitioned provided he would agree that though the provinces with Muslim majorities would have self-government they must be within an overall federal government at the centre. However, he said he would sooner have a moth-eaten Pakistan that owed no allegiance to a central government than a larger and more important area which came under it. I then ascertained from the Congress and Sikh leaders that, heart-broken though they were at the very thought of partitioning India, if the Muslim League would not accept a transfer of power on any other basis they would have no option but to accept if they were not to remain indefinitely under British rule."

Early in June 1947 the Mountbatten Plan was announced. It advanced the date for the transfer of power from June 1948 to August 15, 1947, in view of the increasing tension (communal rioting had spread from eastern Bengal and Bihar to

western Punjab and the North-West Frontier), and its effect on the civil administration which was deteriorating. The scheme of partition embodied in the Plan was accepted by the Congress —with extreme reluctance on the part of Mahatma Gandhi and against opposition by Maulana Azad—as well as by the Muslim League.

Consistent with the Congress stand against division of the country on a religious basis, the partition was based on consultation with the legislatures and referendum in some areas. While Sind and Baluchistan were clearly for joining Pakistan, the legislatures of Punjab and Bengal were consulted and it was agreed that the western half of Punjab and the eastern half of Bengal should go to Pakistan and the other halves to India. A referendum was held in the North-West Frontier Province, more than 90 per cent of whose population was Muslim but whose nationalist leaders were not in favour of joining Pakistan. The referendum was boycotted by Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and his followers who stood for secular democracy and would have preferred to exercise a third option not given to them in the referendum—of independence, Pakistan being ideologically unacceptable to them and the area not being contiguous to India. In the event, the referendum went in favour of Pakistan.

Partition and independence were accompanied by hideous carnage. Millions of Muslims migrated from parts of India to Pakistan and millions of Hindus from Pakistan to India. When the attainment of freedom was being celebrated in Delhi, Mahatma Gandhi was away in the Noakhali district of East Bengal, trying to heal the wounds of communal discord.

Writing before the partition, Jawaharlal Nehru had said about the Muslim League's two-nation theory : "These two nations existed in varying proportions in most of the villages of India They were nations which had no boundaries...they were all over the place." There were about 35 million Muslims in India after the partition, more than one half of the Muslim population of Pakistan. Though the partition and the tragic events attending it had been a denial of the sub-continental ethos of peaceful co-existence and cultural synthesis, post-partition India recovered quickly from the aberration and set out to build a secular democratic state.

V

India After Independence

The two-and-a-half years between August 15, 1947, when India became a self-governing Dominion of the British Commonwealth with Lord Mountbatten as the first Governor-General, and January 26, 1950, when the Constitution of the Republic came into force, were a period of consolidation. The urgent tasks before the Government headed by Jawaharlal Nehru were to cope with the refugee problem, to restore communal harmony and law and order, to integrate the princely States with the Indian federation, and to reconstruct the economy ravaged by the second world war and subsequently disrupted by the sub-continent's partition.

The refugees who poured into India from West Pakistan were in need of immediate relief which was provided in numerous improvised camps. But their rehabilitation was effected, on the land and in industrial townships, in a manner which turned into a national asset the intrepid enterprise of the Punjabi and the business acumen of the Sindhi. Over a few years the refugees became indistinguishable from their more fortunate brothers and sisters.

Re-assertion of the Indian Ethos

The refugee influx made the other urgent task of the infant administration of free India, the restoration of Hindu-Muslim harmony, all the more challenging. The refugees brought with

them heart-rending accounts of loot, rape and murder which often inflamed the Hindus into acts of senseless retaliation against Muslim neighbours. Jawaharlal Nehru gave first priority to the restoration of order, through firm administrative measures as Prime Minister as well as through direct intervention in crisis situations even at risk to his personal safety. Mahatma Gandhi, on completion of his mission in East Bengal and Bihar, came to Delhi and went on a fast till he received assurance from leaders of all communities that peace would be maintained, that Muslims would be allowed to live in safety, and that damaged Muslim shrines in Delhi would be repaired.

Gandhi's martyrdom on January 30, 1948, when a Hindu fanatic shot him dead at a prayer meeting, shocked and chastened the majority community. A dedicated life came to a poetic end, the manner of the Mahatma's death serving to hasten the return of sanity and normalcy and to strengthen the foundations, in free India, of the inter-communal harmony for which he had laboured for decades. This re-assertion of the Indian ethos was embodied in the Constitution which was in the process of being framed by the Constituent Assembly.

Integration of the Princely States

At the time of transfer of power by Britain, there were 565 princely States—most of them linked irretrievably by geography with the territory which was to form the Dominion of India. They accounted for a total population of 93 million, and ranged from the largest, Hyderabad (with an area of 82,000 square miles and a population of 16 million) to Vejanoness with an area of less than one-third of a square mile and a population of about 200. The British Crown had exercised paramountcy over these States, and paramountcy was to lapse with the withdrawal of British power.

Lord Mountbatten made it clear that the princely States would not be permitted to become members of the British Commonwealth, that each ruler should accede to either of the two new Dominions, and that the choice could not be based on considerations other than geographical. The accession was to be limited initially to the three subjects of defence, foreign

affairs and communications. By August 15, 1947, all the geographically contiguous States had chosen to accede to the Indian Dominion, with the exception of Hyderabad in central India, Junagadh in the Kathiawar peninsula (in present Gujarat) on the west coast, and Jammu & Kashmir which was contiguous both to India and to Pakistan.

Several of the hundreds of States which acceded to India retained for some time their currency and other marks of sovereignty except in respect of the three subjects of accession. It was Vallabhbhai Patel (1875-1950) who, as the first Home Minister after independence, integrated them with the Indian Union.

Born in Gujarat, Vallabhbhai Patel came up the hard way, becoming a lawyer after studying borrowed books. A life-long association with Gandhi began when the Mahatma launched a Satyagraha in the Kaira district of Gujarat in 1918 to protest against the Government's adamant collection of taxes despite a devastating flood which had destroyed most of the crop. Vallabhbhai gave up his legal practice and joined the cause. When the British banned the carrying of the Congress flag in Nagpur, he led a Flag Satyagraha there. During a struggle against the higher revenue rates imposed on the poor peasants of Bardoli, he came to be known as the Sardar (leader)—the title by which his name came to be prefixed thereafter. After independence, he displayed as Home Minister the same qualities of grit and determination. Through a combination of persuasion and firm handling, he brought about the merger of numerous smaller States with adjoining provinces. Some princely States, like those of Rajasthan, were formed into States Unions. Some others were placed under the administration of the Central Government. He built on the ground prepared by the States people's movement against autocracy and for democratic institutions, which had been inspired by and had run parallel to the Congress movement for freedom in British India. The reorganization of the States of the Union in 1956, largely on the basis of linguistic homogeneity, carried forward the process of integration of the princes' territories initiated by the Sardar.

While most of the Indian princes learnt to move with the times, and gave up autocratic rule in return for the guarantee

of a privy purse and certain privileges, some did not. Among the recalcitrants was the Nawab of Junagadh, or at any rate his Dewan (prime minister), Shah Nawaz Bhutto—father of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto who was later to become President of Pakistan. Though Junagadh was bounded on three sides by States which had acceded to India and on the fourth by the Arabian Sea, and had an overwhelmingly non-Muslim population, Dewan Bhutto announced its accession to Pakistan on August 15, 1947. The protest of the people, and of neighbouring States which had acceded to India and had enclaves in Junagadh even as Junagadh had enclaves in their territory, compelled the Dewan to request the Indian Government to take over the administration of the State. This was in November, after the Nawab had flown to Karachi, the then capital of Pakistan, with his family members and with most of the State's treasure.

The Nizam of Hyderabad, another overwhelmingly non-Muslim State, in the heart of India, aspired to independent status but was informed by Lord Mountbatten that Hyderabad could not become a Dominion. Protracted negotiations took place between New Delhi and Hyderabad in the course of which it became clear that the Nizam had become the prisoner of a communal organization which he had initially encouraged, the Ittehad-ul-Musilmeen led by Kasim Razvi who had behind him a body of armed volunteers called Razakars. The ban imposed on the Communist Party in 1943 was lifted by the Nizam, and the combined activities of the Razakars and the Communists resulted in a breakdown of law and order. There were attacks on railway trains passing through the State. Indian troops were sent into the State in September 1948. Notwithstanding the unhelpful role he had played, the Nizam was allowed a large privy purse and privileges after his proclamation of Hyderabad's accession to India.

A significant aftermath of the Communist anti-landlord uprising in the Telengana region of Hyderabad was the Bhoodan (land gift) movement launched by Vinoba Bhave, a prominent disciple of Mahatma Gandhi, for promoting the voluntary redistribution of land in favour of the landless.

KASHMIR: VINDICATION OF SECULAR DEMOCRACY

Another aspirant to independent status was the Maharaja of Jammu & Kashmir, a State with a Muslim majority and contiguous to both India and Pakistan. His hesitation to join India had nothing to do with the fact that the majority of the State's population was Muslim, because the major political party, the National Conference led by Sheikh Abdullah, was strongly inclined towards India. The Maharaja held back from acceding to India for reasons of his own personal ambition.

In the case of Junagadh and Hyderabad the Pakistan Government supported Muslim rulers, when they held out against accession to India, on the ground that, under the Mountbatten Plan, it was for the rulers to opt for accession to either Dominion. In the case of Jammu & Kashmir it suited Pakistan to deny the ruler his option and to harp on the religious composition of the State's population.

As the Maharaja was still sitting on the fence after signing standstill agreements with both India and Pakistan, first economic sanctions and then naked force were applied by Pakistan. In October 1947, raiders organized and equipped by the Pakistan army attacked the border town of Muzaffarabad and advanced into the Kashmir Valley. It was only towards the close of October when the raiders had reached Uri, barely 62 miles from the State capital of Srinagar, that the Maharaja acceded to India and handed over the administration to an interim government headed by Sheikh Abdullah.

Except for the small community of Pandits, the entire population of Kashmir Valley had become Muslims through a long process of conversion. But they retained many of the old Hindu customs. The Sufi movement initiated by Sheikh Nooruddin (1377-1438) left a strong mark on the ethos of the people of Kashmir, where shrines and saints sacred to one community are held in equal veneration by the other. The Kashmir monarch who is best remembered and loved is Zainulabdin, the tolerant fifteenth-century ruler who encouraged Sanskrit learning. In the modern period Sheikh Abdullah (*b.* December 5, 1905), a staunch believer in Hindu-Muslim unity, was in the forefront of the movement of the people of the princely States against autocracy and for democratic rule. The two-nation

theory which had already been challenged in the overwhelmingly Muslim province of the North-West Frontier, where the nationalist leader Abdul Ghaffar Khan and his followers boycotted the referendum on accession, received a decisive rebuff in Kashmir.

Pakistan's attempt to grab Kashmir by force, and the reasons for the popular leaders of the State opting for accession to India, are described in the following excerpts from various speeches made by Sheikh Abdullah, including some before the Security Council of the United Nations :

"In the name of the people of Kashmir I invite observers from all countries, especially Islamic countries, to come and see for themselves what the invaders have done to destroy the homes of those very Muslims for whose deliverance they pretended they were coming, in the name of Islam, as 'friends from Pakistan'. These raiders abducted women, massacred children, they looted everything and everyone, they even dishonoured the Holy Koran and converted mosques into brothels...I even doubt if the Muslims of Pakistan can be called real Muslims as they violated the last precept prescribed by the Prophet during his final pilgrimage, namely to protect the life, honour and property of fellow human beings irrespective of caste, colour or creed...

"India belongs neither to Hindus nor to Muslims nor to Sikhs. In India there is complete freedom and equality for everyone. In this very India we are terminating today the 106-year old ruling dynasty of Kashmir. If India were a Hindu country, how could it have supported us in doing away with a Hindu Maharaja? But in Pakistan the old Nawabs still rule.

"Kashmir has linked itself to India, not because it has been lured by any material gain but because it is at one with her in the Gandhian ideals of justice, equality and humanity. A progressive state could join hands only with another progressive one and not with a feudal state like Pakistan. Our decision to accede to India is based on the fact that our programme and policy are akin to those followed by India. New Kashmir and Pakistan can never meet. Pakistan is a haven of exploiters.

"India is pledged to the principle of secular democracy in her policy and we are in pursuit of the same objective. We have chosen to remain with India of our own will and for the

ideals for which Gandhiji laid down his life."

Sheikh Abdullah's faith in these principles and in India was put to strain by but survived undimmed the tragic misunderstanding, following a split in the National Conference, between New Delhi and Srinagar which resulted in his dismissal and arrest in August 1953 on suspicion of conspiring against India. It is a measure of the large-heartedness of the Lion of Kashmir ('Sher-e-Kashmir' is the title his people bestowed on him) and of the statesmanship of Jawaharlal Nehru (who ordered the withdrawal of the conspiracy case and released Sheikh Abdullah in 1964) and of the later Indian leaders that reconciliation was effected and Sheikh Abdullah returned to the stewardship of Jammu & Kashmir as Chief Minister in February 1975. Addressing the State Assembly the following month, he questioned the competence of Pakistan and Mr. Bhutto to protest against "our internal affair - how we sort out our past misunderstanding and estrangement with Central leaders and how we fashion our relationship with the Indian Union." He added : "No one has more personal reasons for a bitter scrutiny of the past than myself. And yet I have made it my business for the remaining years of my life to forget the past and to work for the future of the people of this State and the country "

Constitution of the Republic

The drafting of free India's Constitution was proceeding apace even as the refugees from Pakistan were being rehabilitated, the princely States integrated and the Pakistani invaders repulsed from Kashmir Valley. On completion of the essential tasks of ensuring the unity, stability and security of the country, the Constitution of the Indian Republic came into force on January 26, 1950—exactly twenty years after the nation, responding to the call of the Indian National Congress, had dedicated itself to the objective of complete independence.

In contrast to the briefer, post-war freedom movements in many other colonies of the Western powers, India's long fight for independence was not only directed against foreign rule but was simultaneously a struggle for internal social reform. In the words of Dr. Tara Chand, the transformation of a civilization

into a nationality was brought about by "a movement directed as much against the violence of the other as against the un reason of the self."

The unreason of the self had many manifestations : the suppression of women, illustrated by the Purdah (veil-wearing) habit imposed on some of them which Mahatma Gandhi called a "vicious and brutal custom": the rigid segmentation of society into castes with untouchability at the extreme end of hostile discrimination; and enmity towards outgroups against all of which Gandhi initiated what he described as "a moral, non-violent revolution in all the departments of life of a big nation, at the end of which caste and untouchability and such other superstitions must vanish, differences between Hindu and Muslim become things of the past, enmity against Englishmen or Europeans must be wholly forgotten."

The Indian Constitution, embodying the values which inspired the freedom movement, is a remarkable document in the political evolution of mankind. It conferred on one-seventh of the human race complete equality of citizenship rights irrespective of economic or educational status, racial origin, religion, or sex. It had not happened earlier in the world's history that a people secured such comprehensive democratic rights at one stroke. The older democracies had inched their way towards equal citizenship rights over a period of two centuries from the industrial revolution and the beginning of parliamentary democracy on limited suffrage. Women did not enjoy equal franchise with men in some of the old democracies, Switzerland for example, at the time that Indian women were granted equal rights.

Another notable feature of the Constitution is that, in fulfilment of Gandhi's mission, it expressly abolished untouchability and made its practice punishable in accordance with law. The Constitution not only granted full citizenship rights to formerly oppressed or neglected sections of the population such as Harijans (God's people, as Mahatma Gandhi affectionately called the untouchables) and the tribals; it went further and conferred on them what might be described as discrimination in reverse so as to make up for the lag of centuries. Thus, in electoral constituencies reserved on the basis of concentration of population for Harijans (listed in a Schedule to the Consti-

tution and therefore known also as Scheduled Castes) or for tribals, only Harijan or tribal candidates may contest. However, such candidates are free to contest for election from the unreserved, or general, constituencies. This ensures that the proportion of seats held by Harijan and tribal representatives in Parliament and in the State legislatures is never below, but can exceed, their proportion in the total population.

The Indian Constitution is a blend of federal and unitary features, with a strong Centre. The Union Government has access to some of the most elastic sources of revenue and thereby the capacity to promote balanced regional development through grants-in-aid and loans to the States and Union Territories, on the pattern recommended by a Finance Commission which is appointed every five years. The mechanism of Central assistance has enabled the transfer of resources from the economically more developed parts of the country to the less developed regions. Per capita expenditure on social services and on the promotion of economic infrastructure has been significantly higher, as a result, in the hilly and tribal-populated regions of the country than the national average. This has helped to narrow the gap between the backward and relatively advanced regions of the country.

The system of government is parliamentary, with the Cabinet at the Centre and in the States responsible to Parliament and the State legislatures. Parliament consists of the directly elected Lok Sabha (House of the People) and the indirectly elected Rajya Sabha (Council of States). Some of the State legislatures are also bicameral. The President is the constitutional Head of State and acts on the advice of the Union Cabinet. In the words of a judgement delivered by the Supreme Court in August 1974, "Acting on ministerial advice does not necessarily mean immediate acceptance of the ministry's first thoughts. The President can state all his objections to any proposed course of action and ask his ministers in council, if necessary, to consider the matter. It is in the last resort that he must accept their final advice. The President of India is not at all a glorified cipher. He represents the majesty of the State, is at the apex, though only symbolically, and has rapport with the people and parties, being above politics. His vigilant presence makes for good government if only he uses the right to be consulted, to

warn and encourage."

The institutions of local self-government have not been prescribed in the Constitution, these being regulated by State enactments. Several States are experimenting with Panchayati Raj, which implies the devolution of considerable powers to elected Village Panchayats (councils), Panchayat Samitis (unions) at the level of the development blocks into which each district is divided, and to district-level Zila Parishads (assemblies).

There are High Courts in the States, with the Supreme Court in New Delhi as the final court of appeal. There is a strong tradition of judicial independence, separation of the judiciary from the executive having been an important plank of the nationalist movement in which lawyers played a leading role.

The Fundamental Rights guaranteed by the Constitution include freedom of conscience ("all persons are equally entitled to freedom of conscience and the right to profess, practise and propagate religion"); freedom of speech and expression; equality before the law; equality of opportunity in matters of public employment; and prohibition of discrimination on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth. However, nothing "shall prevent the State from making any special provision for the advancement of any socially or educationally backward classes of citizens or for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes". It is under this power that Harijans, tribals and members of the backward castes have been given reserved quotas in recruitment to the public services and in admission to educational institutions where scholarships are given to enable them to avail of the new opportunities.

Inspired by the example of Eire, the Indian Constitution enumerates the Directive Principles of State Policy. These call upon the State "to strive to promote the welfare of the people by securing and protecting as effectively as it may a social order in which justice—social, economic and political—shall inform all the institutions of the national life. The State shall in particular, direct its policy towards securing: (a) that the citizens, men and women equally, have the right to an adequate means of livelihood; (b) that the ownership and control of the material resources of the community are so distributed as best to subserve the common good; (c) that the operation of the economic system does not result in the concentration of wealth and means

of production to the common detriment..." Unlike the Fundamental Rights, the Directive Principles are not justiciable.

Soon after the Constitution came into force it was found that some of the Fundamental Rights, specially the right to hold and dispose of property, enabled those who were adversely affected by land reform legislation in various States to challenge the laws successfully before the High Courts and the Supreme Court. The first amendment to the Constitution, in June 1951, was designed to protect the laws for abolition of Zamidari estates, a feudal relic, from challenge on the ground of Fundamental Rights. It also enlarged the grounds on which reasonable restrictions could be placed by law on the freedom of expression. These now covered "the security of the States, public order, decency or morality, or in relation to contempt of court, defamation or incitement to an offence." This was in the context of the Communist insurrection in Telengana and the tendency in a section of the Press to incite communal disharmony.

Neither this first amendment nor the further amendments of the Constitution which were enacted till the late 'sixties entailed any confrontation between Parliament and the executive branch of government, on the one hand, and the judiciary on the other. The amendments were intended, and their validity was upheld by the courts, as necessary and marginal adjustments in a long and detailed written Constitution to accommodate the dynamics of development. However, Constitution amendment became a matter of political controversy and of confrontation between the Government and the judiciary after the split in the ruling party in 1969 from which Mrs. Indira Gandhi (*b.* 19 November 1917)—daughter of Jawaharlal Nehru who had become the third Prime Minister of India in January 1966 emerged as leader of the majority Congress faction.

A split seemed possible when Mrs. Gandhi abruptly removed the Finance portfolio from the then Deputy Prime Minister, Mr. Morarji Desai. Mr. Desai (*b.* 29 February 1896) is a veteran of the struggle for independence, reputed for adherence to his principles even at the risk of unpopularity. He served with distinction as Minister and subsequently Chief Minister of the State of Bombay (prior to its bifurcation into the linguistic States of Maharashtra and Gujarat) before joining the Union Cabinet in 1956 at the invitation of Jawaharlal Nehru. While Mr. Desai

conceded that the Prime Minister had the prerogative to change the portfolios of colleagues, he felt that he had no alternative but to resign since Mrs. Gandhi had not consulted him before reaching her final decision in the matter. The rift in the ruling party became inevitable with Mrs. Gandhi's withdrawal of support to Mr. N. Sanjiva Reddy, the Congress candidate whose nomination as candidate for the office of President of India she herself had filed a few weeks earlier. She asked her followers to vote "according to their conscience" a thinly veiled call to support the Independent candidate for the Presidency, Mr. V.V. Giri.

Following the split in the Congress Mrs. Gandhi's party lost its majority in Parliament but the Government headed by her was able to continue, with support from the Communists and some other groups. It initiated laws for the nationalisation of the major commercial banks and for abolition of the privy purses of the former princes. Some of the provisions of these laws were struck down by the Supreme Court as being violative of the Fundamental Rights. Mrs. Gandhi's party won the mid-term (fifth) elections to the Lok Sabha, early in 1971, on the popular slogan of *Garibi Hatao* (Remove Poverty), and to most of the State Assemblies early in 1972—when Mrs. Indira Gandhi was at the height of her popularity following the liberation of Bangladesh. The ruling party now commanded an overwhelming majority in Parliament (though it had secured less than half of the popular vote), and initiated a number of Constitutional amendments. Striking down one of these in April 1973, the Supreme Court held by a seven-to-six majority, in the Keshavanand Bharati case, that the power of amending the Constitution, conferred by Article 368, did not empower Parliament to amend the Constitution in such a manner as to change its 'basic structure'.

This decision of the Supreme Court notwithstanding, the basic structure of the Constitution came to be altered even more drastically after the proclamation of a state of internal emergency on June 25, 1975. The final blow to judicial scrutiny was delivered by the 42nd Amendment enacted in 1976, during the emergency when the proceedings of Parliament were heavily censored and Opposition speeches virtually blacked out. This Amendment

provided that no amendment of the Constitution, whether made before or after the 42nd Amendment, "shall be called in question in any court on any ground".

Restoration of the spirit of the Indian Constitution, by the repeal or suitable modification of the 42nd Amendment, is among the objectives of the Janata Party which came to power as the result of the March 1977 (sixth) elections to the Lok Sabha.

The Indian judiciary's tradition of independence was put to severe test during the 19 months of the emergency, when a number of judges were superseded or transferred following the delivery of judgements adverse to the Government. In the words of Mr. Soli Sorabjee, now Additional Solicitor General of India, "A free Press and an independent judiciary have been the traditional twin pillars of democracy. In the dark days of the emergency the judiciary, by and large, and especially the judges of the State High Courts, valiantly rose to the occasion and fully justified their role as protectors of the people's basic rights despite threats of transfer from one State to another and their possible supersession "

World's Largest Democracy

When India prepared for the first general elections of early 1952 on the basis of universal adult franchise, many people abroad—and some in India · wondered whether democracy would work successfully in a country with a low level of literacy and of economic development and with diverse religions and languages. Each major language of India is spoken by millions, corresponding to the population strength of countries like Malaysia, Sri Lanka and Britain

The doubts have been disproved. Not once but six times, the people of India have chosen their representatives in Parliament and the State legislatures through peaceful, democratic elections. At no time in any country in history did as many as 88.6 million people exercise the franchise at one time, in free elections, as the electorate of India did in the 1952 elections to Parliament. Every subsequent election has retained this distinction for India as the world's largest democracy. India's electorate at the time of the sixth elections to the Lok Sabha in

March 1977 was of the size of 188.5 million, of whom 61 per cent, or about 113 million, exercised their franchise. As Daniel Moynihan, former ambassador of the U.S.A. to India, has remarked: "Half of the people on earth who live in a society with civil liberties live in India."

The successful working of democracy perhaps owes in part to the age-old Indian tradition of village assemblies. "It may come as a surprise to many to learn," wrote the Marquess of Zetland, "that in the assemblies of the Buddhists in India, 2,000 years or more ago, are to be found the rudiments of the parliamentary practice of the present day. The dignity of the assembly was preserved by the appointment of a special officer—the embryo of Mr. Speaker in our House of Commons. A second officer was appointed whose duty was to see that, when necessary, a quorum was secured—the prototype of the parliamentary chief whip of our own system. A man initiating business did it in the form of a 'motion' which was then open for discussion. In some cases it was done once only, in others, three times, thus anticipating the practice of parliament in requiring that a Bill be read a third time before it becomes a law."

However, with the decline in the vigour of the early Indian society and its petrification in the medieval period into rigid patterns of caste, social renewal had to await the reform movements of the 19th century. Later, the three decades of mass participation in the freedom movement under Mahatma Gandhi's leadership brought a new sense of equality and self-respect to all Indians, including women and members of the so-called lower castes. This preparation had fitted the masses for the practice of full-fledged democracy when the Constitution came into force in 1950.

The Congress party was in control of the Union Government, and of a majority of the States, continuously from the attainment of independence in 1947 till 1977. This was not because it won the majority of the popular vote but because the non-Congress parties were divided and the single-member constituency system, inherited from the British, awards victory to the candidate who polls the largest number of votes—not necessarily a majority of the votes cast—in a constituency. Likewise, the capture of the majority of seats in the Lok Sabha by the Janata party (formed by the merger of several non-Congress

parties) in the March 1977 elections was disproportionate to its share of the popular vote. The following figures illustrate the distortion of the vote-seat ratio in the successive elections to the House of the People :

Party	Year of election	Percent of popular vote	Percent of seats
Congress	1952	45	74.4
"	1957	47.4	75.1
"	1962	44.7	73
"	1967	40.9	54.4
"	1971	43.5	67.9
Janata	1977	43.17	52

The same distortion of the vote-seat ratio has been operative in the elections at State level. Thoughtful observers such as Mr. Minoo Masani, a member of the non-official Committee on Electoral Reforms, have therefore been advocating the adoption of a mixed system which will, on the West German model, combine the advantages of the single-member constituency system with those of proportional representation.

The Emergency and After

Though the Congress party won the Parliamentary elections of 1971 and the Assembly elections in many States in 1972 on the slogan of *Garibi Hatao* (Remove Poverty), little progress was made towards this goal. Inflation ran high, and it was attributable only in part to the international oil crisis of late 1973. The number of the unemployed, and of those below the poverty line, increased. There was a decline in the standards of public life. Unrest among industrial workers resulted in a spate of strikes, the biggest of which was the railwaymen's strike of May 1974 which was ruthlessly broken.

Popular discontent in Gujarat was spearheaded by students and the youth, who launched a movement at the turn of 1973 for the resignation of the State Ministry, against many members of which there were charges of corruption. A similar movement

developed in Bihar during 1974, and the student and youth leaders there turned for leadership to Mr. Jaya Prakash Narayan (*b.* October 11, 1902). 'J. P.' as he is popularly known, is one of the founding fathers of the Indian Socialist movement, and a hero of the anti-British 'Quit India' movement of 1942 during which he effected a jail-break and organised the underground resistance which did not confine itself to non-violent methods. Mahatma Gandhi said of him: "He has forsaken all for the sake of the deliverance of his country. His industry is tireless. His capacity for suffering is not to be excelled. Whatever our disagreements and differences, I have not for a moment doubted his courage, sacrifice and strength of purpose. I do not think a foreign power that has ruled India for an age through force and violence has the right to accuse Jayaprakash of believing in violence." Shortly after independence J. P. became disillusioned with Marxist dogma as well as party politics, and threw himself into the *Bhoodan* (land-gift) movement to secure land redistribution through voluntary donations.

The movement for the dissolution of the Bihar Assembly and for fresh elections was met by the authorities with violence and with resort, on an unprecedented scale, to extra-legal methods such as stoppage of rail, bus and boat transport to the capital city of Patna in order to stop people from the districts from joining the massive rallies addressed from time to time by J. P. Meanwhile the magnitude of popular discontent in Gujarat compelled the resignation of the Congress Ministry in February 1974: the Assembly was suspended, and the State brought under President's rule. But the agitation continued, for the dissolution of the Assembly and the holding of fresh elections. Mr. Morarji Desai undertook a fast in support of these demands. When elections were held eventually in Gujarat in June 1975, the Congress suffered a decisive defeat.

On June 12, 1975, came the verdict of the Allahabad High Court on a petition contesting the validity of Mrs. Indira Gandhi's election from the Rae Bareli constituency in Uttar Pradesh on the ground that she had committed electoral malpractices in violation of the election law. A single-judge bench pronounced Mrs. Gandhi guilty, with the consequence of unseating her from Parliament and rendering her disqualified for any election for a period of six years. The judge, however,

accepted the plea of Mrs. Gandhi's counsel for stay of the order pending an appeal against the judgement to the Supreme Court. In Delhi the vacation judge, the Supreme Court then being in recess, confirmed the stay of operation of the Allahabad High Court's order pending the hearing of Mrs. Gandhi's appeal by a Supreme Court bench, but ruled that meanwhile she could not exercise the right to vote in the Lok Sabha though she could continue as Prime Minister and address both the Houses.

Mrs. Gandhi did not wait for the final judicial verdict on the vaildity of her election. On the night of June 25, 1975, she got the President to sign a proclamation of internal emergency—for the first time in free India's history. Emergency on account of external threat had been declared earlier more than once, following the wars with China and Pakistan. On those occasions the Government did not resort, as it did in 1975, to the suspension of Fundamental Rights or to Press censorship, though both are allowed by the Constitution during a state of emergency whether declared on account of external threat or internal disorder.

J. P., Mr. Morarji Desai and the leaders of virtually all non-Congress parties with the exception of the Communist Party of India were roused from sleep and arrested in the early hours of June 26, 1975. Also arrested were critics of the government inside the ruling party itself who had been pleading for a dialogue rather than a confrontation with J.P. The number of political workers put under detention during the 19 months of the emergency exceeded 100,000—twice the number jailed by the British at the peak of the Quit India movement of 1942.

One of the first acts of the muzzled Parliament (its proceedings were censored), in which the ruling party had a steamroller majority, was to amend the election law so as to validate, with retrospective effect, precisely those malpractices of which Mrs. Gandhi had been held guilty. The Supreme Court, when it finally heard Mrs. Gandhi's appeal against the invalidation of her election, had no option but to uphold her election under the law as amended.

Within six months of the emergency Mr. Sanjay Gandhi, second son of Mrs. Gandhi, emerged on the political scene as a leader of the Youth Congress.

The principal argument in defence of the declaration of internal emergency and of the political arrests was that the movement for the dissolution of elected Assemblies was unconstitutional, and that J.P., (who had called upon Army and police personnel not to carry out illegal orders) had incited the security forces to revolt. In a letter addressed to Mrs. Gandhi from detention in July 1975, but published only much later, J.P. said: "In a democracy the people do have the right to ask for the resignation of an elected government if it has gone corrupt and has been misruling. And if there is a legislature that persists in supporting such a government it too must go, so that the people might choose better representatives. In a democracy the citizen has an inalienable right to civil disobedience when he finds that other channels of redress or reform have dried up... As for the 'one person' who is supposed to have tried to sow disaffection in the army and the police force, he denies the charge. All that he has done is to make the men and officers of the Forces conscious of their duties and responsibilities. Whatever he has said in that connection is within the law: the Constitution, the Army Act and the Police Act...Having muzzled the Press and every kind of public dissent, you continue with your distortions and untruths without fear of criticism or contradiction. If you think that in this way you will be able to justify yourself in the public eye and damn the Opposition to political perdition, you are sorely mistaken. If you doubt this, you may test it by revoking the emergency, restoring to the people their fundamental rights, restoring the freedom of the Press, and releasing all those whom you have imprisoned or detained..."

To her great credit, Mrs. Gandhi eventually acted precisely on these lines when in January 1977 she announced fresh elections to the Lok Sabha, released the leaders of the opposition parties, and relaxed both the emergency and Press censorship. What is more, the elections were allowed to be conducted freely and fairly.

In relinquishing her office as Prime Minister, Mrs. Gandhi said, "The collective judgement of the people must be respected. My colleagues and I accept this verdict unreservedly and in a spirit of humility. Elections are a part of the democratic

process to which we are deeply committed."

Social Mobility : Decline of Caste

The egalitarian impulse generated by the freedom movement, and subsequently promoted by the Constitution, is exemplified by the case of Kumaraswami Kamaraj (1903-1975), who rose to be Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu and President of the Congress.

Kamaraj was born a Nadar, a community not as lowly as the untouchables but not much higher in the social scale. They were deemed not to be of Aryan descent and therefore not entitled to enter and worship in the temples of the higher Hindu castes. The question was put to legal test at the turn of the last century. Shanan, standing for toddy-tapper, was the earlier name of the Nadar caste. When a group of Shanans tried to assert their right to worship at a certain temple, the dispute was taken to the Madras High Court whose judgement, delivered in 1898, gives a picture of the rigidly stratified society of the times. Holding that Nadar (meaning rulers of a country) was a self-assumed title, the judgement said that all Nadars were in fact Shanans: "The Shanans have, as a class, from time immemorial been devoted to the cultivation of the palmyra palm and to the collection of juice and manufacture of liquor from it. There are no grounds whatever for regarding them as of Aryan origin. Their worship was a form of demonology, and their position in general social estimation appears to have been just above that of Pallas, Pariahs and Chakkiliyans (farm serfs, scavengers and cobblers), who are on all hands regarded as unclean and prohibited from the use of the Hindu temples... No doubt many of the Shanans have abandoned their hereditary professions and have won for themselves by education, industry and frugality, respectable positions as traders and merchants and even as Vakils (pleaders in local courts) and clerks; and it is natural to feel sympathy for their efforts to obtain social recognition and to rise to what is regarded as

a higher form of religious worship. But such sympathy will not be increased by unreasonable and unfounded pretensions; and, in the effort to rise, the Shanans must not invade the established rights of other castes. They have temples of their own, and are numerous enough and strong enough in wealth and education to rise along their own lines..."

If this sounds like the hypocritical 'separate but equal' philosophy of racial segregation which is still preached in South Africa and some other parts of the world, that is exactly what it was. Mahatma Gandhi's movement of social reform including temple entry for untouchables changed the whole picture. Kamaraj, whose schooling lasted barely six years, began working as an apprentice in a cloth shop but became an active Congress volunteer after he saw and heard Gandhi at Madurai. Then followed jail-going, organizational work and election campaigning. When Kamaraj became Chief Minister early in 1954, he was the first non-English knowing person to head the administration in any part of India. He gave up office in 1963 as part of a plan, proposed by him and accepted by Nehru, for senior party-men to leave administrative responsibility and strengthen the Congress party at the grassroots.

Jagjiwan Ram, who has had the longest innings as a Union Minister, was born a Harijan. Unlike the minority of Scheduled Caste leaders, notably the late Dr. Ambedkar (a distinguished jurist who served on the drafting committee of the Constituent Assembly), who rejected Hinduism along with the caste system and embraced Buddhism, Jagjiwan Ram is a staunch Hindu: "I was born a Hindu and I am proud to be one. I have read Hindu scriptures with various commentaries and I have come to believe that Hinduism, as revealed in the Vedas and Upanishads, is such as can claim to be a religion of eternal modernity. A fascinating feature of Hinduism is that it is not dogmatic and authoritarian. Although Hinduism has been inhibited by the Varna system of which caste is a necessary corollary, it has managed to survive as a great force. It has shown great resilience in many adverse circumstances.. The greatest merit of Hinduism is its catholicity and spirit of accommodation The widest freedom is allowed in matters of faith and worship to suit every individual's aptitude and inclination and thus it

attains the status of a federation of faiths. Hinduism recognizes different levels of religious experience. Out of the broad spectrum of Hindu thought each one can accept just what he needs at his particular stage of development, and thus progress from one step to another...Hinduism conceives of the world as one family and each individual as part of the Indivisible Divinity with all its attributes, and hence the equality of all animates."

The examples of Kamaraj and Jagjiwan Ram are significant as indicating a trend. They have not been cited to suggest that caste and untouchability have disappeared from Indian society. In July 1974 the Madras High Court was called upon to decide whether the temple elephant at Kanchipuram should be painted with the caste mark of the Thengalai sect or of the rival Vadagalai sect; the Court decreed that, pending disposal of the appeal, the elephant should be painted on alternate weeks with the caste mark of each sect! Sociologists have observed that while at some places, at certain times, caste groups have been exploited as vote banks, the process of politicalization has more often served to weaken the solidarity of caste and to introduce divisions based on party ideology.

Though untouchability was formally abolished with the coming into force of the Constitution, successive annual reports of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes showed that age-old prejudices could not be removed by a stroke of the pen. The laws made in many States for the removal of social disabilities were of little value, since in most cases the offences were not cognizable and the Harijans, illiterate and held in economic thraldom, were hardly in a position to go to courts for enforcing their rights. The country's conscience was outraged by an incident in Bihar in 1953, when the priests of Deogarh assaulted Vinoba Bhave, the revered disciple of Gandhi, as he saught to lead a batch of Harijans into the local temple for worship. The Central Government brought forward a Bill, enacted in 1955, to make the practice of untouchability in any form a cognizable offence throughout the country. The measure stipulates free access to all places of public worship and to public wells in villages and the enjoyment of other communal facilities, and provides for the punishment of anyone—be it a doctor or the proprietor of a cinema or restaurant, a washerman or bar-

ber—who refuses to serve a client on the ground of untouchability. The law applies not only to Harijans in the Hindu fold but also to converts to other religions. This was necessary because the stigma of untouchability often remained even after their conversion, as shown by the separate enclosures that used to be provided for untouchable brethren in certain churches in South India. If the idealism of religion could not dissolve inherited social prejudice, class solidarity was sometimes not any more effective: during the debate on the Bill a member cited the resistance offered by workers in the weaving departments of some textile mills in Bombay to the employment of untouchables.

The Untouchability (Offences) Act has helped to mitigate the discrimination against Harijans but it is yet to be eradicated. There have even been pogroms sometimes against Harijans, such as the burning of Harijan huts in a Tamil Nadu village in December 1968, following a dispute over the wages of agricultural labour, in which forty-four men, women and children perished. On the other hand, the provision of free education up to the highest stage and the reservation of employment in public services have helped to raise the educational and economic level of the Harijans, who form about 15 per cent of the population, closer to the national average. There have been instances of non-Harijans pretending to be members of the Scheduled Castes in order to avail of the concessions. Twenty-three non-Harijan students who had secured admission to medical colleges in Punjab, on false certification as members of the Scheduled Castes, were taken off the rolls in 1974.

Women's Emancipation

"I belong to the largest minority which, all over the world and throughout history, has had to face discrimination," said Mrs. Indira Gandhi, the then Prime Minister, on the eve of the observance of 1975 as International Women's Year. For centuries the Hindu woman had no share in patrimony and no right to divorce on any grounds—even if the husband took a second wife. If a young girl lost her father, she was entirely dependent on the kindness of a brother or uncle to support her

and find the dowry for her marriage. If marriage proved unhappy, she could find release only in death. A committee which investigated the causes of suicide in Saurashtra (a region of Gujarat with a population of four million) found that 1,129 cases of suicide had been reported between 1951 and 1955. The great majority were women, nearly half of them between the ages of 19 and 30. In addition to poverty and unemployment, the committee listed "unhappy family relations and conservative marriage traditions and practices" among the major causes of suicide.

Of these conservative practices (more prevalent among the upper castes and the urbanized than among agricultural labourers—folk norms in this respect being more humane), dowry has been the most cruel. The original intention of Indian dowry was quite worthy. According to the ancient codifier of law, Manu, what was given before the nuptial fire and on the bridal procession, what was given in token of love, and what was received from a brother, mother or father constituted the six-fold property of a married woman: "Such ornaments as women wear during the lives of their husbands, the heirs of these husbands shall not divide among themselves. They who do so shall fall into deep sin." But what began as an arrangement for the protection of the bride became an instrument of exaction by the parents of the bridegroom. Parents began to lament the birth of a daughter. Infanticide, child marriage and polygamy were widely prevalent at the turn of the eighteenth century when the movement for social reform and women's education was launched by Ram Mohan Roy.

Mahatma Gandhi described women as "the submerged half of Indian humanity." It was during the struggle for freedom under his leadership that women began to take part in public life for the first time. Women also participated in Gandhi's constructive programme of education and social service, and even contributed their quota to the terrorist movement against British rule. Because of this close involvement in the national movement, Indian women did not have to struggle for political franchise. After India became free, the poetess and freedom fighter, Sarojini Naidu, was Governor of Uttar Pradesh, one of the largest States; Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, a Christian who was born a princess and became a disciple of Gandhi, was

India's first Health Minister; and Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit served as India's High Commissioner in London. These examples, like the election of Indira Gandhi as Congress President in 1959 and her stewardship of the country as Prime Minister for eleven years from 1966, indicate the trend but are not an index of the status of the generality of Indian women.

Legal reform for improvement of women's status has a long history, beginning early in the nineteenth century with Ram Mohan Roy's successful campaign for the prohibition of the widow-burning custom known as Sati and the restraint on child marriage enacted in 1929. In 1941 a committee was appointed to work out a nationalized Hindu personal law. Its labours resulted in the introduction of the Hindu Code Bill in 1947 in the provisional parliament, but conservative opposition was so strong that only four clauses of the marathon Bill had been passed when the provisional parliament was dissolved in 1951. Orthodox resistance to the reform was dramatized during the ensuing general elections, the first to be held on the basis of adult franchise under the new Constitution. In Jawaharlal Nehru's constituency of East Allahabad his chief opponent was Prabhu Dutt Brahmachari, a former Congressman turned ascetic. He offered to withdraw from the contest if the Prime Minister assured him in writing that the Hindu Code Bill would be dropped. Nehru's characteristic response was to offer to fight the election on the very issue of the Code.

It was due largely to Nehru's prodding that India's first Parliament, convened in 1952, took up the lapsed Hindu Code Bill part by part, and enacted a series of separate laws for improving the status of women. The Hindu Marriage Act, which came into force in May 1955, ended the age-old institution of marriage as a one-sided sacrament. It enforced monogamy on both parties, and permitted divorce on the grounds of adultery, desertion, cruelty, insanity or incurable disease.

The Hindu Succession Act, which became effective from June 1956, gives the daughter and other female relatives a share in succession to the property of Hindu males dying intestate (the habit of making wills is confined to a microscopic minority). Till this Act, property could pass only to sons or, in the absence of male issue, to brothers and other male agnates and cognates entitled to perform religious rites for the deceased.

The line of succession bore no relation to the direction of natural love and affection. The daughter, mother and widow have now been given a full share in succession to self-acquired property, equal to that of the son. However, their share in joint family property governed by Mitakshara, the ancient law which applies to a large section of Hindus, is smaller than that of the son.

The Child Marriage Restraint Act provides for punishment in case of marriage to which a male under 18 years of age or a female under 15 is a party. The minimum ages are proposed to be raised to 21 and 18 respectively. But enforcement has proved difficult, as in the case of the Dowry Prohibition Act of 1961.

Of the various laws, the Succession Act governing property is the biggest step towards women's emancipation, for which it provides the economic foundation. The process of emancipation has been accelerated by the growth of women's education and the emergence, under the economic strain of maintaining families at increasing costs and standards of living, of a large class of working women in the non-agricultural sector—women have always shared in work on the land. Women now account for a substantial proportion of doctors and teachers, and are entering the administrative and even police services. Girls from lower middle class urban homes, who formerly regarded high school education as a mere accomplishment, like music, to qualify for a suitable bridegroom, are increasingly taking to work as school teachers or clerks in government and commercial offices. But women's education still lags considerably behind men's, though both are inadequate. The overall rate of literacy (covering all ages, from infancy) has gone up from 16.6 per cent in 1951 to 29.45 per cent in 1971, as ascertained in the decennial Censuses. But the figure of 29.45 per cent is composed of a male literacy level of 39.45 per cent and female literacy of only 18.70 per cent. In the case of both men and women, literacy is much higher in the urban centres than in the villages which account for 80 per cent of population.

Even in educated households, parentally arranged marriages are still the rule. Educated women have two views on the subject. Margaret Cormack, in her book on *The Hindu Woman*,

reports an interviewee as telling her: "Education brings a sense of immorality in marrying one you don't know." On the other hand, another told her:"One thing is true, at least, and that is that all girls are sure of a husband. They do not have to worry, and they do not have to seek them."

The reform of personal law has been confined to the Hindu community, defined for this purpose to include all who are not Muslims, Christians, Parsees or Jews. This is due to two reasons. The Hindu women stood most in need of protection, whereas the personal laws of the other communities allowed varying degrees of rights to women with regard to property and marriage. Secondly, the majority community has been reluctant to impose changes which the minorities might regard as an encroachment on their religious autonomy. But a common civil code, applicable to all citizens, remains the long-term objective and is indeed enjoined by the Directive Principles of State Policy.

Democratic Planning

When India became free, it had two major models of economic development to choose between, if it wished. One was the capitalist free enterprise of the developed countries of the West where democracy grew gradually and attained fulness only long after the industrial revolution, and overseas colonies, had made those countries rich. The other model was of the single-party, centrally planned economies of the Communist countries which achieved rapid development of basic industries through totalitarian regulation.

The leaders of free India rejected both the models. They chose the third path of democratic socialism which had been experimented with in Britain and in the Scandinavian countries, but had never before been tried by a poor country. It called for an increasing degree of State ownership of or control over the means of production and distribution, but within the framework of multi-party democracy and with a large area of economic operations left to private initiative. In December 1954 the Indian Parliament adopted a resolution stating that "the object-

ive of our economic policy should be a socialistic pattern of society."

Many observers, in India and outside, wondered whether an economically backward country with a largely illiterate population, steeped in religious beliefs which were supposed to be other-worldly and indifferent to material progress, could overcome poverty without the whiplash of coercion. Others doubted whether economic development could take place without the incentive of private profit and competition which are the driving forces of capitalist free enterprise. Both kinds of doubt have been substantially disproved by the results achieved through India's democratic planning.

The allocation of priorities for investment, public and private, was entrusted to the Planning Commission which was established in 1950, the year in which the Constitution came into force. For Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru it was the fulfilment of an old dream. He had persuaded the Congress, at the Karachi session in 1931, to adopt a resolution which said: "The State shall own or control key industries and services, mineral resources, railways, waterways, shipping and other means of transport." In 1938 the Congress set up a National Planning Committee with Nehru as chairman. Appropriately, he became the first chairman of the Planning Commission.

In the jargon of international economic diplomacy, the expression 'underdeveloped country' has been replaced by the more polite and flattering description of the poor nations as 'developing countries'. In the case of India it is literally true that, over the last quarter-century of democratic planning, an under-developed country has achieved a developing economy which is increasingly self-reliant for further growth.

True, some countries which started at India's level of underdevelopment have, over the identical period, achieved a higher average rate of economic growth. But such countries have had to pay a heavy price, either in the form of regimentation of the total life of the people from the privacy of family life and religious belief to choice of occupation, or in the form of heavy reliance on foreign aid to the point of making independence nominal. The people of India have been spared the payment of either price, while fast developing to a point where it has become an example to other developing nations.

The new Janata Government formed in March 1977 shares the commitment to democratic planning, with a mixed economy in which the public sector plays an important role. However, it proposes to allocate a greater share of investment resources to agricultural and rural development, and to labour-intensive cottage and small industries in order to promote employment and mitigate poverty. The new Finance Minister, Mr. H. M. Patel, said while presenting the first Janata budget in June 1977: "The low level of purchasing power is a reflection of the chronic state of under-employment and unemployment which is faced by large numbers of landless workers and small and marginal farmers. The magnitude of the problem can be assessed from the fact that in 1975-76 the economy did not have the capacity to absorb the production of 120 million tonnes of foodgrains. The fact that the proportion of people living below the poverty line today is higher than in 1960-61 strengthens me in my belief that there is need for a fundamental change in our economic policies and programmes. In spite of the importance of agriculture and the repeated avowal of the need to improve the condition of rural India, the rural sector has in the past not received a fair share of total investible resources. This needs to be rectified. Currently the irrigation potential is growing at an annual rate of about two million hectares. We have to evolve a plan to be able to double this rate in the next few years. The primacy of agriculture does not imply indifference towards, or neglect of, modern industry. All that it implies is that, in so far as a larger proportion of investible resources available to the public sector is diverted to agricultural development, resources for industrial growth will have to be found increasingly by enterprises themselves generating larger internal resources of their own through more efficient operation as well as more effective pricing policies."

In an economic policy resolution adopted in August 1977, the Working Committee of the Janata Party called for the eradication of unemployment within a decade through the launching of rural works for drinking water, soil conservation, minor irrigation, drainage and afforestation, and the promotion of labour-intensive industrial production based on local resources through decentralised planning at the level of the district and, within it, of the development block. "The party's

policy will be", the resolution said, "that what can be produced by cottage industry shall not be produced by the small-scale sector, and what can be produced by the small-scale sector shall not be open for large-scale industry. The reservation of fields must be clear and where necessary statutorily defined. The only exception that may be considered will be for production that is entirely for export."

The Janata Government's approach to rural regeneration envisages changes in educational policy besides investment allocations. The new Education Minister, Dr. P. C. Chunder, has said: "Our existing system of secondary education, instead of sending out trained people to the villages, is actually draining a good deal of potential talent from villages to cities. If we mean to develop the rural areas we will have to change all this."

Industrial Growth

Free India inherited a colonial economy in which such economic development as took place was designed to enable the colonial power to take away raw materials at cheap prices and to sell finished products at a high profit in a captive market. India used to import simple manufactured articles like cloth and pencils and fountain pens, not to speak of railway engines and industrial machinery.

Today India manufactures such sophisticated items as railway engines (diesel and electric besides steam locomotives), equipment for power generation and transmission, mother machines which make machinery for the manufacture of cement and sugar, and a host of agricultural and consumer requirements including tractors and chemical fertilizers, bicycles, scooters, motor vehicles, electric fans, telephones, and paper. Many of these have an extensive foreign market.

This industrial development is unlikely to have occurred if the pattern of economic growth had been left to be dictated wholly by the pursuit of immediate profit by private investors. The building of the infrastructure—steel, heavy machine building, electricity, mining, oil exploration and extraction, and transport by ocean and air besides road and rail—required

massive investments beyond the capacity of private enterprise. They also entailed a gestation period too long to attract the private investor. But the infrastructure was essential for making the country economically self-reliant and thereby capable of preserving its political independence. The building of the infrastructure was therefore undertaken in the public sector, from public savings in the form of taxation and loans and with marginal augmentation by foreign aid.

To begin with, the development of industries in the public sector was handicapped by civil service predominance in management. This, combined with the inevitably long gestation periods of investment in heavy industries, attracted criticism of the public sector as a 'bottomless pit'. But by the mid-'seventies these undertakings began to yield profit in monetary terms besides taking the country significantly forward towards self-reliant economic growth. Housing of workers in well-planned townships has been a feature of public sector undertakings which has diminished their profitability but has set an example to industry as a whole in social responsibility.

This illustrates the second objective of State intervention in the economy, namely, social justice. It required the widening of economic opportunity to the formerly neglected segments of the population, the rural and urban poor. The nationalization of the major commercial banks in 1969 has resulted in an increase several-fold in the number of bank branches in rural areas, and the extension of credit to small farmers, ironsmiths and shoemakers, rickshaw-pullers and drivers of three-wheel scooters and taxis—many of the latter now own their own means of subsistence instead of having to pay heavy charges to rentiers.

Initially there was an ideological debate on the question whether economic growth should be given primacy or social justice. Now it is recognized, by the Government as well as by private industry and business, that economic growth and social justice have to go hand in hand. Thus, at the annual session of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry in April 1975, its president told fellow-businessmen that it was as futile to talk of production without social justice as to talk of social justice without production. India's industrial development since independence has been accompanied by an increasingly wide range of social security legislation ranging

from the fixation of minimum wages and regulation of working hours to employees' health insurance, retrenchment and lay-off compensation, bonus, gratuity and provident fund.

The development of scientific manpower has been an essential component of India's strategy for industrial development. How far this objective has been achieved is attested by the successful exploration for and extraction of oil, underground as well as off-shore, the application of nuclear science for power generation and for agricultural and medical research, the controlled underground nuclear explosion of May 1974 for study of the possibilities of peaceful applications, and the fabrication of an earth satellite for gathering scientific data which was launched from a Russian rocket in April 1975.

Agricultural Development

In agriculture the country inherited a subsistence level of farming. The agrarian structure was basically feudal, with zamindars and absentee owners exploiting the actual tillers of the soil. The latter had no stake in, nor the resources for, effecting technological change through investment in irrigation, improved seeds, fertilizers and pesticides.

Rainfall is not spread throughout the year. Three-fourths of it is received during four months, between June and September, and the quantum varies from year to year and from place to place. Only ten per cent of the cultivated land is located in high-rainfall areas like the Assam hills and the Himalayan and Western Ghat regions where irrigation is generally not required. A third of the cultivated land is in arid and semi-arid regions where no substantial agricultural production, specially of cereals like rice and wheat, is possible without irrigation. In the rest of the country irrigation is needed to meet the water requirement of crops at the right time.

Less than 15 per cent of the cultivated area was under secure irrigation at the time of independence. As a result of the large public investments in river projects, many of them for power generation and flood control besides irrigation, and the private investment in tubewells and other irrigation sources, the area under secure irrigation has been doubled. The incentive for

private investment to improve agricultural productivity was provided by the abolition of intermediaries on the land, a major operation which was undertaken immediately after independence. Though the process of land reforms is still not complete, in most parts of the country tenants are secure in the possession of the land they cultivate, and pay much less rent than in the past.

High priority has been given to rural electrification, which has enabled the sinking and energization of hundreds of thousands of tubewells. Electricity has reached 205,000 out of the total of 567,000 villages in the country—from a mere 3,000 at the time of independence. Other components of the agricultural development programme are agricultural research for the development of high-yielding varieties of seed and improved dry-farming techniques, the expansion of agricultural credit, co-operative marketing, and, above all, the development of extension services. India has a cultivated land area of about 140 million hectares, roughly the same as in the U.S.A., but has sixty million farming families in comparison with less than four million in the U.S.A. It has been a challenging task to bring improved seeds and scientific methods of cultivation within the average farmer's awareness and reach.

The result of these efforts is evident from the doubling of food production since independence—from about 50 million tonnes per year to 100 million tonnes and more. But the population has been growing apace, and India continues to be vulnerable in years of bad weather, with floods or drought or both in different parts of the country. Hence the emphasis laid by the new Janata Government on increased investment for agricultural development through rapid expansion of the area under secure irrigation.

GROWTH RATE: POPULATION VERSUS NATIONAL INCOME

At constant (1960-61) prices, the net domestic product of India increased by 130 per cent from Rs. 95,300 million in the financial year (April to March) 1950-51 to Rs. 219,520 million in 1975-76, at a compounded average growth rate of about 3.4 per cent per year. This modest figure does not by itself convey

the significance of the change in the Indian economy since independence, from the colonial pattern dominated by agriculture at a subsistence level to a diversified economy which is increasingly self-reliant in steel, oil, machine building and the other requirements of sustained and accelerated growth.

However, the increase in national income has been eroded in per capita terms by the increase in population. As against a rise of 65.5 per cent in net national product in the 15 years from 1960-61 to 1975-76, the increase in per capita income was only 19.7 per cent. During the decade 1951-61 the net increase in population (excess of births over deaths) was at the mean rate of 2 per cent per year. In the following decade, 1961-71, the rate went up to 2.2 per cent, since the death rate declined faster than the birth rate. The rate of growth of the population in 1975 was again about 2 per cent, as the result of the efforts to promote family planning.

Many of India's present difficulties illustrate the saying that progress generates its own problems. Before independence, millions of people used to die in periodic famines, and each year even in non-famine years from such mass killers as malaria, cholera, smallpox and tuberculosis. After freedom there have been no mass deaths from starvation. The challenge of the severe droughts of the mid-'sixties and early 'seventies was met by massive relief operations. Public health campaigns for the eradication or control of epidemics, and increased availability of medical care, have brought down infant mortality and increased the expectation of life of the average Indian from 32 to 50 years.

The result is that India's population is now growing at the rate of about 12 million per year—as much as the entire population of several countries. India's population increased by more than 50 per cent from 361 million at the 1951 Census to 548 million in 1971, and stood at about 620 million in 1977. About two million extra tonnes of foodgrains are needed each year merely to feed the annual addition to the population. Moreover, improved standards of living have led to a shift in the pattern of consumption of the lowest income groups from roots and other edibles to cereals, resulting in increased demand for rice and wheat.

Indians form 14 per cent of the world's population, but are

crowded into less than 2.4 per cent of the earth's surface. Hence the importance attached to the limitation of population growth through family planning, which is also in the interest of the health of mothers, care of children, and family welfare in general.

Early in the 'fifties, the Commissioner of the 1951 Census, R.A. Gopalaswami, said in his report: "It is possible to overcome food shortage permanently by taking suitable measures over an extended period of about fifteen years...but it will not be sufficient. Effective steps should be taken concurrently to limit births to approximate parity with deaths and thereby achieve a substantially stationary population. Births will get limited to approximate parity with deaths if what has been described as 'improvident maternity' is avoided by all or most married couples. Improvident maternity consists of all births occurring to mothers who have already had three or more children, when at least one of them is alive."

The warning was at the time ahead of the general awareness of the problem of population growth, but by the mid-sixties it came to be realized that a determined effort to bring down the birth rate, to match the decline in the death rate, was essential if the fruits of economic development were not to be eroded, in per capita terms, by the increase in numbers. Since then India has been engaged in a massive programme of birth control as part of the planning of family welfare. There is lively concern at the prospect of the country having to support a population of 1,000 million by the end of this century.

India observed 1974 as World Population Year with earnestness and only one caveat. "I am all for family planning," Mrs. Gandhi said, "and I think it is very important for us to control our population. What I object to is the focus given to it by affluent nations whereas their smaller populations are using up much more of everything. They are eating up more grain, protein and fruit, using more petrol and everything there is in the world."

The family planning programme came into disrepute during the 19 months of internal emergency, when coercive methods were used, specially in the northern States, for stepping up the sterilisation drive. The new Government has forsworn compulsion, but is committed to population control through family

limitation on a voluntary basis and as part of a wider and positive programme for promoting maternal and child health.

THE CULTURAL SCENE

The social reform and nationalist movements which began in the nineteenth century gave an impetus to literature in the Indian languages. Poets, essayists and novelists contributed significantly to the quickening of the social conscience against injustice and to the rousing of nationalist fervour. Bharatendu Harishchandra in Hindi, Bankim Chandra Chatterji and Rabindranath Tagore in Bengali, Chiplunkar in Marathi, Veeresalingam in Telugu and Subramanya Bharati in Tamil were the literary counterparts of the men of action in public life. Administrative and educational policies have contributed to the further development of the Indian languages after independence.

Hindi was declared the official language of the Union in terms of the Constitution, which however provided for the continued use of English for all official purposes for a period of fifteen years which Parliament could further extend. The Indian Government has adhered to the liberal approach enunciated by Jawaharlal Nehru in Parliament in August 1959: "I would have it (English) as an alternate language as long as people require it, and the decision for that I would leave not to the Hindi-knowing people but to the non-Hindi-knowing people." In the States, the legislature is empowered to adopt one or more of the languages in use in the State, including English, as the official language or languages of the State.

The medium of instruction in schools, and increasingly in colleges, specially in non-science subjects, is the regional language. But there are several educational institutions which employ the English medium, and in practice both the regional language and English are often used by teachers. The two languages of pan-Indian communication are Hindi, which is the most widely spoken Indian language and is being increasingly learnt by non-Hindi speakers; and English, spoken only by a small minority of the population (estimated at two per cent) which is, however, spread through the length and breadth of the country.

Book publishing has made rapid strides in all the Indian languages besides English, reflecting the growth of education. India is now among the leading publishers of books in the world in terms of the number of titles, though print orders are modest in size. The effort of thousands of private publishers is supplemented by the Publications Division of the Information Ministry, the National Book Trust, the Children's Book Trust and a number of academies supported financially by the Central and State Governments.

Enrolment in primary schools (classes I to V) went up from 19 million in 1950 to 68 million in 1975; in the middle school stage (classes VI to VIII) from 3.1 million to 17 million; and in the high school and higher secondary stage (classes IX to XI and XII respectively) from 1.2 million to 8.5 million. At the university stage (inclusive of arts, science and commerce colleges), enrolment increased from 0.4 million to more than 3 million. In engineering and technological institutions, enrolment at the degree level increased from a little over 4,000 in 1950 to 21,242 in 1973. There has been a corresponding increase in the number of educational institutions: at the base, the number of primary schools more than doubled from a little more than 200,000 in 1950 to nearly 430,000 in 1973, and at the apex the number of universities has increased from 27 to 112. Formal education is supplemented by an adult literacy movement with voluntary participation and official support.

Yet the starting level was so low, and the population base so large, that the rate of literacy (including the 0-14 age group) went up from 16.6 per cent at the 1951 Census to only 29.45 per cent at the 1971 Census. Adult literacy (age 15 plus) was 33.32 per cent· 46.80 per cent among men and 18.84 per cent among women. Because of the population explosion, there is the sad paradox of the absolute number of the illiterate increasing even as the percentage rate of literacy is rising.

The Indian Press played a notable part in the freedom movement, newspaper editors having been the second largest professional group, after lawyers, among the leaders of the movement. Freedom of the Press was one of the planks of the nationalist struggle, and continued to be highly prized. The imposition of Press censorship along with the internal emergency therefore came as a shock. Indian journalists and publishers were so

dazed and cowed that, with a few honourable exceptions, they complied with the orders of the censors though many of them had nothing to do with either the defence or the internal security of India. However, with the lifting of censorship the Press has displayed a new zest in exercising the freedom it had lost and has regained.

The interests and political sympathies of Indian newspapers and periodicals have covered a wide gamut, and many of them have been vigilant and fearless in the exposure of administrative lapses or instances of corruption among persons in public life, not all of whom have been able to live up to Mahatma Gandhi's injunction: "Recall the face of the poorest and the weakest man whom you may have seen, and ask yourself if the step you contemplate is going to be of any use to him." One of the Durga Ratan awards for journalism, instituted by a private foundation, which were given away by President Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed in 1975 went to the New Delhi correspondent of a popular Bombay weekly who had unearthed a scandal concerning import licences which was subsequently debated in Parliament and became the subject of an inquiry.

The circulation of daily newspapers, in English and the various Indian languages, went up from a total of 2.5 million in the early 'fifties to about 9.4 million by the end of 1975. The pattern of this growth reflects the growing importance of the Indian languages in mass communication. In 1960 the top six daily newspapers (counting the largest single edition in the case of newspaper chains) included only three in the Indian languages. In 1972 all but one of the top six dailies were Indian-language, with the English daily ranking last in size of circulation. The growth rate of Indian-language periodicals has been likewise higher.

The audio-visual media, not being literacy bound, have a wider reach though access to them remains predominantly urban. The number of licensed radio receivers stood at 17.4 million at the end of 1976, starting from a quarter million at the time of independence. The number of cinema houses has increased from about 3,350 in 1952 to 9,000, with the proportion of touring cinemas going up from a fifth of the total to more than one-third. The number of cinema seats is 5 million, with daily viewing by nearly 10 million people. Besides the full-length feature

films, the cinema houses are required under law to screen news-reels and short documentaries dealing with current affairs and themes of educational and cultural interest, most of them made by the Films Division of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. Short films of the latter category are also screened on a non-commercial basis by hundreds of audio-visual units of the information and development departments of the Central and State governments. An increasing number of thoughtful, 'new wave' feature films are being produced, often with loan assistance from the public-owned Film Finance Corporation. The bulk of feature films are produced with the aim of success at the box office. Many of them deal with themes of social relevance though they employ the techniques of mass appeal based on the dictum of Aldous Huxley that we are all much of a muchness between the navel and the knee. With a tally of 488 feature films in 1973, India entered the front rank of film producing countries.

Television made a late start in India, with a pilot centre established in Delhi in 1959 which began to offer programmes for the general public only in the mid-'sixties. In recent years, however, the expansion has been rapid. TV centres began to operate in Bombay in 1972, and in Srinagar and Amritsar in 1973. New stations came up during 1975 at Madras, Calcutta and Lucknow. India launched the first experiment in a developing country to utilise satellite transmission of TV signals for instruction and social education over a large area on August 1, 1975 when the Satellite Instructional Television Experiment was inaugurated in collaboration with the National Aeronautical and Space Administration of the U.S. SITE brought, during the 12 months of its operation, educational programmes to pre-school and primary school children in the morning, and to the general public in the evening, in selected village clusters in six States where 2,400 direct reception community viewing sets were installed. New terrestrial TV stations are being established to provide continuity of coverage to the SITE villages besides thousands more. Large-scale community viewing of TV has been organised in respect of the TV stations in Jammu & Kashmir and Delhi. Similar facilities are being provided in other parts of the country. The number of TV receivers has gone up from 4,000 in 1966 to about half a million.

speaking State was formed in 1966. The first major move towards the fulfilment of the aspirations of formerly neglected ethnic groups in the north-east was the formation of Nagaland as a separate State in 1962, during the Prime Ministership of Jawaharlal Nehru. The process was carried forward by the grant of Statehood to Meghalaya, Tripura and Manipur, and the status of Union Territory to Arunachal Pradesh and Mizoram, in 1972.

Religion has been the most fundamental diversity in Indian society, sometimes coinciding with ethnic diversity (as in the case of the widely Christianized Indo-Mongoloid populations of Nagaland, Meghalaya and Mizoram) and with linguistic (as in the case of Sikh-majority, Punjabi-speaking Punjab). But the religions of India are distributed all over the country and are not confined to State boundaries or ethnic and linguistic groups. Religious tolerance was therefore the essential basis for Indian nationhood.

Secular democracy is how the Indian polity is described. This description has to be understood against the background of the partition of the sub-continent in 1947, which those who brought it about ascribed to the two-nation theory that Hindus and Muslims could not live together as citizens of the same polity.

As Jawaharlal Nehru said, the secular State "does not mean a state where religion as such is discouraged. It means freedom of religion and conscience." It does not mean that "religion ceases to be an important factor in the private life of an individual. It means that the state and religion are not tied together. It simply means the cardinal doctrine of modern practice, the separation of the state from religion and the full protection of every religion."

In his Independence Day broadcast to the nation on August 15, 1947, Nehru said : "All of us, to whatever religion we may belong, are equally the children of India. We cannot encourage communalism or narrow-mindedness, for no nation can be great whose people are narrow in thought or in action." A few weeks later he declared : "As long as I am at the helm of affairs, India will not become a Hindu State. If they do not subscribe to my ideals and are not prepared to co-operate with me then I shall have no way except to resign from the Prime Minister-

ship and continue to fight for the establishment of a State where every citizen will enjoy equal rights irrespective of his religion." Nehru did not have to resign, because the people went along with him.

During his long tenure of nearly 17 years as Prime Minister, Nehru commended to the people of India a new approach which, without denying the beliefs and practices of inherited religions, would conduce to a larger religion of humanity. Thus, while laying the foundation stone of the irrigation dam on the river Krishna in 1955 at Nagarjunakonda, which had been a great centre of Buddhist learning in the second century B.C. and whose treasure of sculpture has been preserved on an island museum in the man-made lake, the historian and nation-builder said: "This is the foundation of the temple of humanity of India, a symbol of the new temples that we are building all over India."

On the death of Jawaharlal Nehru on May 27, 1964, Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri (1904-1966) became the second Prime Minister of India. The appellation Shastri is usually Brahmanic, but it was the title of graduation earned by Lal Bahadur, a non-Brahman born in a family of ordinary means, from a national education institution at Varanasi. This was after a schooling which entailed walking many miles, without shoes even when the road burned in the summer's heat. He threw himself into the nationalist movement at the age of sixteen, and spent a total of seven years in British jails. His first public office was as parliamentary secretary in his home State of Uttar Pradesh. Later he moved to New Delhi as a Member of Parliament and successively held several portfolios from one of which, the Railways, he resigned in token of moral responsibility for a railway accident in which many lives were lost. Lal Bahadur Shastri was as firm in his dedication to the ideal of a secular State as Nehru. He was proud of and wanted to preserve and enrich "that enduring strand in Indian life which can best be described as respect for the human personality and the spirit of tolerance...Communal, provincial and linguistic conflicts weaken the country".

Mrs. Indira Gandhi was elected to succeed Lal Bahadur Shastri on his death in January 1966 at Tashkent, a few hours

after he had signed a joint declaration with Pakistan for peaceful relations between India and that country in the wake of the 1965 hostilities. She had entered the Government earlier, in 1964, as Minister of Information and Broadcasting in the Shastri Cabinet. Asked once, soon after she had become Prime Minister, what qualities a holder of that office should have, she replied: "Integrity and a sense of dedication...But in a country with the diversities of India the Prime Minister must also have great breadth of vision. I do not look at a person as a Muslim or a Hindu. I am not identified with any group or State. I feel perfectly at home everywhere."

The present Prime Minister, Mr. Morarji Desai, has been stressing the need to respect the human dignity of every citizen: "The self-respect of every person is as important as my self-respect. This must be the consciousness of everybody... We have to work for the swift removal of untouchability and full assimilation of minorities and the Scheduled Tribes in the mainstream of national life by providing equal opportunities for all in the shortest possible time."

The successive Presidents have similarly upheld, by example and precept, the ideal of a common nationality and humanity transcending differences of religion, language and caste. The first, who held the office from 1950 to 1962, was Dr. Rajendra Prasad, a non-Brahman lawyer of Bihar who threw away a lucrative practice at the bar to join Mahatma Gandhi's movement. The second was a Brahman, the philosopher-statesman Dr. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan from the south, who held the office from 1962 to 1967. The third was Dr. Zakir Husain, a Muslim born of Afghan ancestry at Hyderabad. On his election as President of the Republic in May 1967, he recalled the fateful October of 1920 when he was drawn to Gandhi. The Mahatma visited Aligarh, where Zakir Husain was teaching at that time, and called for boycott of educational institutions controlled by the British Government: "It is a great honour indeed that the nation has bestowed on a mere teacher who some 47 years ago resolved to devote the best years of his life to national education. I began my public career at the feet of Gandhiji, and he has been my guide and inspirer. I shall do

my utmost to take our people towards what Gandhiji strove restlessly to achieve : a pure life, individual and social, an insistence on the means being as pure as the end, an active and sustained sympathy for the weak and downtrodden, and a fervent desire to forge unity among the diverse sections of the Indian people." The fourth President, who succeeded to the office on Dr. Zakir Husain's death in 1969 and served till 1974, was Mr. V. V. Giri (*b.* 10 August 1894). He was a pioneer of the Indian trade union movement though born in a well-to-do Brahman home, and at one point resigned from Jawaharlal Nehru's Cabinet as Labour Minister on an issue of conscience when the Government modified an award given by a tribunal on a dispute between bank managements and employees on wages and working conditions. The fifth was Mr. Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed (1905-1977), who said on the assumption of his office in August 1974 : "Let us share the confidence of Dr. Zakir Husain that 'Providence has destined India to be the laboratory in which the greatest experiment of cultural synthesis will be undertaken and successfully completed.' It is for our people in the villages and towns to participate zealously in this enchanting enterprise and make their valued contribution to the rich mosaic of India's culture."

The present President, Mr. Neelam Sanjiva Reddy (*b.* 19 May 1913) is of farmer stock and hails from the Rayalaseema region of what is now Andhra Pradesh. He joined the nationalist movement in the 'thirties, while still a student, and distinguished himself both as party organiser and as administrator. After serving as Minister and Chief Minister at State level, he joined the Union Cabinet and later became Speaker of the Lok Sabha. Following his unanimous election to the Presidency in July 1977, he pledged himself to keep "this great institution above political controversy, so that the President can serve as a link between different parties in preserving the unity of the country...The country now needs a new equilibrium, a new spirit of national reconciliation, that can be brought about only by moving forward to the new frontiers of true equality, fuller opportunity and greater compassion for the weaker sections of the people. The real unity of India lies in its immense diversity, not merely the diversity of language, region or religion, but in the plurality of its society in which all sec-

tions of the people have a role to play in preserving its integrity and ensuring its welfare."

Fortunate to have this quality of leadership, the people of India have proved worthy of it. Occasional conflicts between Hindus and Muslims, caste Hindus and untouchables, linguistic minorities and majorities, have been exceptions to the rule of harmonious co-existence. Such conflicts are often the result of competition for limited economic opportunities, in employment and trade, and will diminish with the further development of the national economy.

In the words of Frederick Moore, S.J., "The Christian, having no taboos about food or social contacts, mixes freely with his non-Christian neighbours. The great Hindu and Muslim festivals are almost part of the Indian Christian way of life in some parts of the country. At the time of Basant (spring festival) in north India, the Christian is as keen as anyone else on flying kites. At Diwali time he indulges in sweets. The only non-Christian festival he generally shuns is Holi with its occasional excesses."

The great Hindu and Muslim festivals are participated in with enthusiasm by members of both the communities. Id is an occasion for the expression of brotherly feeling not only among Muslims but between them and their Hindu and other non-Muslim neighbours.

There have been Muslim Chief Ministers not only in the Muslim-majority State of Jammu & Kashmir but also in Muslim-minority States such as Rajasthan, Bihar and Manipur. There have been Christian Chief Ministers in several States. The Union Government has always had members belonging to the religious minorities. The legislatures, the judiciary, the civil services and the armed forces include members of the religious minorities, more or less in proportion to their numbers in the country's population.

Badruddin Tyabji, former diplomat and Vice-Chancellor of the Aligarh Muslim University, has described Indian secularism as "not a dry-as-dust desiccated, negative conception. It is a dynamic idea. It seeks to create opportunities for all members of the great family of the people of India, whatever their race, religion or social background may be, to find full self-expression in their own way, through their own religion, distinctive culture

and traditions, provided they do not thereby harm those of any other; and, in that way, to contribute to the development of the universal moral and cultural character of India."

Though secular democracy is an expression which does not lend itself to easy translation in the Indian languages, the substance of it is no foreign importation. Its successful practice owes immensely more to the Indian ethos of co-existence nurtured by the saints and Sufis of various religions than to the model of the separation of Church from State in Europe and the subsequent development of liberal democracy in the Western world. Knowledge of world history has certainly served to reinforce the intellectual commitment of the educated elite to modern democratic values, but the majority of India's millions know little of the West's political history and nothing of theories of the State. The makers of India's Constitution could not have opted for a secular democratic State, so soon after the Hindu-Muslim mass killings of 1946-47, unless they were certain that the people had recognized and quickly rejected the rioting that accompanied the Partition as temporary insanity.

Thus it is that the white minarets of mosques glistening in the mid-day sun and the voice of the Muezzin calling the faithful to prayer are as much a part of the Indian landscape and sounds as church steeples and temple bells. India's varied society is a fellowship of faiths protected by a Constitution which might be described as an annotation, in the modern language of political economy, of the ancient Upanishadic benediction, *sarve janah sukhino bhavantu* ("May happiness be to all people !").

VI

Free India and the World

Even as the Constitution of free India embodied the values of the national movement in respect of internal social reform and the objectives and methods of economic development, it gave expression to the broad international aims and interests which informed the freedom movement. The Directive Principles of State Policy call for "just and honourable relations among nations" and the promotion of international peace and security.

Foreign Policy Objectives

Jawaharlal Nehru, more than any other, contributed to the outward-looking and international dimension of the national movement. The Indian National Congress stood for the independence not of India alone but the liberation of all subject peoples in the numerous other colonies of the European imperialist powers in Asia and in Africa. Indeed, it was concerned also about the freedom and human rights of people in Europe itself when the menace of Fascism grew in the 'thirties. Freedom for all peoples, peace among nations, and progress in mutual co-operation on the basis of equality were the objectives of the national movement. They became the governing principles of free India's foreign policy. Speaking at the midnight

hour when India emerged into freedom on August 15, 1947, fulfilling its "tryst with destiny", Nehru said: "It is fitting that at this moment we take the pledge of dedication to the service of India and her people and to the still larger cause of humanity."

The successful fight for independence in India, the largest of the colonies, gave a powerful impetus to the process of post-war decolonisation. The increase in the membership of the United Nations from the original strength of 51 countries in 1945 to the present 149 owes not a little to the example of India and its advocacy, on the floor of the United Nations and outside, of freedom for all subject countries.

The ending of the foreign exploitation of India's economic resources, resulting in the drain of national wealth to Britain, was among the major planks of the freedom movement. After attaining independence, India has been in the forefront of the struggle of the newly free and economically developing countries for improved terms of trade in the world market for their agriculture-based traditional export items as well as for the products of their emerging industries. A row of multi-storeyed flats in the heart of New Delhi commemorate the second United Nations Conference on Trade and Development which India hosted in 1968.

India has contributed to the growing awareness of the danger of a new-style economic imperialism as represented by multinational corporations based in the developed countries, and by the excessive reliance of some countries on foreign aid to the point of losing the capacity for independent judgement and action. Hence India's advocacy of the increased channelling of foreign aid to developing countries through international agencies such as the United Nations Development Fund, the World Bank and the International Development Association. India is not against the acceptance of bilateral foreign aid, in the form of grants and loans, by the developing countries so long as such aid is, as Jawaharlal Nehru once put it, "within reason". Development assistance is regarded not as charity but as an obligation enjoined on the richer countries by enlightened self-interest—since no affluent nation can be an island unto itself in today's world of the multiple revolutions of national libera-

tion, mass communication and rising expectations. The international transfer of resources from the affluent to the developing countries, to the small extent that it is taking place, is but the application on a global plane of the deliberate policy pursued by India, within the country, of funnelling resources from the more developed to the economically backward parts of the country through the mechanism of Union taxes and of need-based Central assistance to the States and Union Territories.

India's support to the struggle for human rights, whether in a racist regime as in South Africa or in countries under other forms of tyranny, is similarly a counterpart of its own effort at home to actualize the principle of equal citizenship rights through the abolition of untouchability, emancipation of women from social and economic thraldom, and the conferment of equal rights irrespective of religion, caste, language or ethnic origin.

Commonwealth Membership

India's decision to continue as a member of the Commonwealth after the attainment of complete independence and the adoption of a Republican constitution was in consonance with Mahatma Gandhi's insistence that the quarrel of Indians was with English rule, not Englishmen, and that "enmity against Englishmen or Europeans must be wholly forgotten." But there were some critics of the decision.

Jawaharlal Nehru said in a broadcast on return from the meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers at London in 1949: "Though the critics are few, I would rather address myself to them than to the much larger number of people who have already expressed their approval... Alliances normally mean mutual commitments. The free association of sovereign Commonwealth nations does not involve such commitments. Its very strength lies in its flexibility and its complete freedom. It must be remembered that the Commonwealth is not a super-State in any sense of the term. We have agreed to consider the King as the symbolic head of this free association. But the King has no function attached to that status in the Commonwealth. As far as the Constitution of India is concerned, the King has

no place and we shall owe no allegiance to him... I wanted the world to see that India did not lack faith in herself, and that India was prepared to co-operate even with those with whom she had been fighting in the past, provided the basis of co-operation today was honourable, that it was a free basis, a basis which would lead to the good not only of ourselves but of the world also."

The presence of South Africa with its policies of racial oppression and apartheid was an irritant which ceased in 1961 when, on the adoption of its republican constitution, it withdrew its application for continued membership of the Commonwealth in face of the intense criticism from fellow-members.

With the progress of former British colonies one after the other to freedom, and the establishment of a Commonwealth consensus against racialism, whether in South Africa or Rhodesia or elsewhere, the primary concern of India and other Asian and African members of the Commonwealth is now with issues of economic equality and progress. The first trip abroad undertaken by the new Prime Minister, Mr. Morarji Desai, was to attend the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference of June 1977 in London, where he stressed "two requisites of an action programme which we all have collectively to hammer out. One is for each of us to help ourselves to the maximum degree feasible in order to improve our own economic conditions. The other is for the international community to organise itself meaningfully and as soon as possible to implement the various programmes that have emerged out of the exercise of collective wisdom."

NON-ALIGNMENT AND PURSUIT OF PEACE

The contrast drawn by Nehru between the loose nature of the Commonwealth association and binding alliances is relevant to India's policy of non-alignment with either of the rival power blocs which emerged at the end of the second world war. As early as December 1947, Nehru declared in the provisional parliament of India: "We will not attach ourselves to any particular group...We have sought to avoid foreign entanglements by not joining one bloc or the other. The natural result has

been that neither of these big blocs looks on us with favour. They think that we are undependable, because we cannot be made to vote this way or that way. I have no doubt that, fairly soon, India will not only be respected by the major protagonists in the struggle for power, but a large number of the smaller nations which today are rather helpless will probably look to India more than to other countries for a lead."

The expectation was soon fulfilled. In the early 'fifties, following the Korean war, India provided the chairman of the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission and of the Custodian Force to guard the prisoners of war of both sides till they went to the country of their choice under the terms of the peace agreement. On India's mission in Korea, Nehru said: "Why did we go to Korea? Was it to gain honour, glory and prestige? We went to Korea because if we did not go, the first thing was that there would have been no truce, no cease fire in Korea, the war would have gone on with all the dangers of that war expanding. We accepted the job and I would accept it not once but a hundred times again because I owe a duty not only to my country but to others."

India has stood for and tried to assist the easing of tensions, whether between the Western and Communist blocs during the long years of the Cold War or between other countries with competing nationalist claims with or without the banner of ideology. Hence the choice of India for a leading role in a succession of peace keeping assignments such as in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia in East Asia; in Lebanon and Gaza in West Asia; and in the Congo in Africa.

It might seem paradoxical that, with such commitment to the cause of peace, India should nevertheless have found itself involved in armed conflict four times with Pakistan, and with China in 1962. None of these conflicts was of India's seeking. Secondly, though the Indian freedom movement was largely non-violent, independent India did not adopt non-violence as State policy or abjure the use of armed force either to quell internal disorder or to meet aggression from outside. On the other hand, India has shown conspicuous restraint and tried to avoid hostilities, if possible, be it with Pakistan or China or in regard to the colonial remnants on Indian soil in the form of the French and Portuguese territories, and has been willing to

resume normal relations with adversaries instead of nursing permanent hatred. This policy is based on the belief that war should be avoided as too high a price for solving any problem, and that the world we live in is too small and interdependent, and the greater part of it too poor, to afford the armament race which permanent hatred implies.

India was content to wait, and to apply only moral pressure, till France decided in 1954 to follow the British example and to withdraw voluntarily from its Indian possessions, of which Pondicherry was the largest. The French decision evoked generous response from New Delhi, which offered to support the continuance of French studies and to preserve the cultural identity of Pondicherry; it continues to be a Union Territory though its people speak Tamil and the area could have been merged with adjoining Tamil Nadu.

The policy of restraint was continued even longer in respect of Goa and other Portuguese possessions, though it was put to severe strain. The anti-colonial movement within Goa was supported, from August 1954, by a symbolic and peaceful Satyagraha by small groups of Indians and Goans resident in India who periodically entered the Portuguese territory, to be pushed back after varying degrees of physical punishment. In August 1955, however, there was a mass ingress by anti-colonial demonstrations on whom the Portuguese forces opened fire, resulting in the death of a score of Satyagrahis on the border' Resisting the pressure from the opposition parties for military retaliation, Jawaharlal Nehru banned the unauthorized entry of Indians into Goa. The Indian police were deployed to stop demonstrators when they tried to cross the border into Goa in October 1955. It was only in December 1961, in the context of suspected military collusion between Pakistan and the Portuguese authorities in Goa, that New Delhi ordered a military operation which ended successfully in two days since the people of Goa welcomed liberation and gave no support to the colonial authorities. When the people of Portugal themselves threw off the dictatorial regime in 1974 and regained liberty after 42 years, the new Foreign Minister, Mr. Mario Soares, acknowledged that the rift between the two countries was "the consequence of a conflict which could have been avoided had there been a minimum of flexibility on the part of Portugal."

He received a warm welcome when he visited India in December 1974 in pursuance of his belief that "at the moment in which Portugal breaks conclusively with its colonial past, re-establishment of friendly relations with the Indian Union would constitute a great symbolic gesture". India's then Foreign Minister, Mr. Y.B. Chavan, after signing a treaty which acknowledged Indian sovereignty over the former Portuguese possessions and envisaged a cultural agreement covering the promotion of the Portuguese language and culture and the preservation of historical and religious monuments, told Mr. Soares: "We want the people of Portugal to know that the past is past and buried with the conclusion of this treaty. Let us turn our efforts to developing a fruitful and beneficial relationship between our two countries worthy of their great historical and cultural heritages."

The support expressed by Soviet leaders to India on the issue of Goa being part of India, during the visit of Marshal Bulganin and Mr. Khrushchev in the winter of 1955, elicited a warm response from the people of India, as did their subsequent declaration, at Srinagar, that "the question of Kashmir as one of the States of the Republic of India has been decided by the people of Kashmir themselves." In contrast, the then U.S. Secretary of State issued a joint statement with the Portuguese Foreign Minister, within days of the expression of Soviet support to India on the Goa issue, describing Goa as a "province of Portugal." Earlier, Prime Minister Chou En-lai of China had won Indian appreciation by supporting the Indian demand for the liberation of Goa while warning the Portuguese against celebrating the fourth centenary of their occupation of Macao on the Chinese mainland.

Despite this sharp contrast in the attitude of the two sides in the Cold War, on issues intimately touching Indian national interests and sentiment, India remained steadfast in its policy of non-alignment. The Soviet intervention in Hungary in November 1956 attracted public criticism which Jawaharlal Nehru endorsed when he said that "it was a continuing intervention of the Soviet armies in these countries (of Eastern Europe) based on the Warsaw Pact. Events have shown that the Soviet armies were there against the wishes of the Hungarian people. That is clear. Any other explanation is not ade-

quate. Undoubtedly the Government in Hungary was not a free government, it was an imposed government, and the people of Hungary were not satisfied. These events have powerfully affected the prestige of the Soviet Union." The activities of the Cominform, Nehru had said earlier, in 1955 on return from a visit to Russia, "do not fit in" with the Panch Shila (Five Principles) of co-existence and non-interference.

Likewise, the large-scale economic aid received by India from the U.S., Britain and other Western powers has not inhibited New Delhi from criticising some actions of these countries, whether in Egypt and elsewhere in West Asia and Africa, in Latin America, or in Viet Nam and elsewhere in East Asia. During a speech in Parliament in March 1955, Nehru said: "Now there is a good deal of talk about Communism and anti-Communism. Both are important. I do not deny that. But what about some little and odd things happening in the continent of Africa? What about that human tragedy that is continually taking place in the Dominion of South Africa--hundreds and thousands of people lifted up bodily from their homes and taken away somewhere else? Why do we not hear the champions of freedom talk about this? They are silent; they simply pass it over."

India's economic foreign policy, like the political, has been similarly independent and non-aligned. It has sought to diversify the market both for exports and imports and to increase the proportion of manufactured items in the composition of exports. Besides the traditional Western and Asian-African markets, Russia and the East European countries now account for a substantial proportion of Indian exports, including manufactured consumer goods and industrial items besides commodities like tea, jute, pepper and coffee. Bilateral trade, balanced over a short term and with outstandings expressed in rupee value, has been a new feature which has stimulated economic transactions with some Communist countries and several others. But when balanced bilateral trade on rupee account has not proved satisfactory, India has not hesitated to scrap it in favour of the usual settlement of payments in internationally convertible currency, as with Yugoslavia, Bangladesh and Pakistan.

The signing of the Indo-Soviet Friendship Treaty in August 1971, on the eve of the sub-continental convulsion which resulted in the emergence of Bangladesh, led some observers to won-

der whether India had abandoned non-alignment and begun to lean on the Soviet Union. There was even speculation in the Western Press that India had agreed to grant military bases to Russia. As Mrs. Indira Gandhi said in an interview to Netherlands Television in April 1975, "Any nation or any generation of people who have fought all their lives for independence are not going to jeopardise that independence immediately after gaining it. We are friends with the Soviet Union but we are making a major effort to be friends with other countries, and indeed I think we are friends with most countries of the world... Nobody has asked India for any bases and it is not our intention to give any." Shortly thereafter she told the Commonwealth Conference in Jamaica that the assumption that India had come under Soviet influence was 'ridiculous' : "If the U.S.S.R. has come to our support at the right times, it is because the U.S. policies have given it the opportunity to do so."

The new Government formed in March 1977 is pledged to following a policy of genuine non-alignment. Speaking of the continuity in foreign policy, the Prime Minister, Mr. Morarji Desai, pointed out in the course of a banquet speech during his visit to Moscow in October 1977: "During our recent elections there were many subjects of fierce controversy but foreign policy and the principle of non-alignment which has been the cornerstone of this policy was never a subject of debate. It is a policy which gives us the freedom to nurture friendships on the basis of equality and mutual benefit."

Mr. Atal Bihari Vajpayee, the new Foreign Minister, recalled soon after assuming office that when he was first elected to the Lok Sabha, foreign affairs were being handled by Jawaharlal Nehru who had said that India could have no other policy except that of non-alignment and that it would not change even if any other party was voted to power in place of the Congress. Mr. Vajpayee also said that greater efforts would be made by the new Government to develop relations with neighbouring countries of South and South-east Asia and with Japan. This policy of good-neighbourliness resulted in a major achievement when India and Bangladesh signed an agreement in November 1977 on a difficult issue which had eluded solution for years—the sharing of the waters of the Ganga after the construction by India of a barrage at Farakka in order to aug-

ment the water flow in the silt-prone Hooghly river and thereby save the port of Calcutta.

INDO-PAKISTAN RELATIONS

The U.S. policies cited by Mrs. Indira Gandhi at Jamaica pertain to Pakistan, whom successive American administrations sought to build up militarily even after Pakistan made nonsense of its participation in supposedly anti-Communist defensive alliances by entering into an alliance with Communist China. Indo-U.S. relations have been marred from time to time not on account of direct bilateral problems but because of U.S. involvement on Pakistan's side in the troubled relations between India and Pakistan.

Given the circumstances of the sub-continent's partition, it was to be expected that India and Pakistan would have some problems of mutual adjustment. While the new State (1951 Census) had a population of about 75 million, which was overwhelmingly Muslim, it included about 13 per cent of Hindus, most of them in the then East Pakistan. India had in its then population of 361 million a higher percentage of non-Hindus, including about 35.4 million Muslims. Transcending the difference of religion, the Urdu and Punjabi languages linked India with the western wing of Pakistan and the Bengali language with its eastern wing. Confrontation between what Jinnah called the "two nations", namely Hindus and Muslims, or between India and Pakistan was out of the question if the two new States were to grow as peaceful neighbours.

India, for its part, wished to be a peaceful and friendly neighbour. It gave the quietus to the two-nation theory so far as it was concerned by adopting a Constitution based on universal adult suffrage and equal rights for all citizens, and conducted the first elections under the new Constitution at the turn of 1951. Pakistan, on the other hand, launched aggression against India in Kashmir in 1947, proclaimed itself an Islamic State, and did not permit elections on adult franchise till towards the close of 1970 by which time India had gone through four five-yearly general elections to Parliament and to the State legislatures.

India's response to the attack on Kashmir was firm and

prompt, but it restrained the response to the territory of Jammu & Kashmir and did not extend the hostilities to the rest of the international border with West Pakistan, let alone the border with East Pakistan. The first Indo-Pakistan war ended on December 31, 1948, with the acceptance of the ceasefire proposed by the United Nations though it meant for India the retention by Pakistan of a large portion of the territory of Jammu & Kashmir.

Within a year of the ceasefire, on December 22, 1949, the Government of India handed over to the Pakistan High Commissioner in India a draft of a joint declaration denouncing the use of force for the settlement of disputes between the two countries. The draft of this No-War Declaration said: "The Government of India and the Government of Pakistan, being desirous of promoting friendship and goodwill between their peoples who have many common ties, hereby declare that they condemn resort to war for the settlement of any existing or future disputes between them. They further agree that the settlement of such disputes between them shall always be sought through recognised peaceful methods such as negotiation, or by resort to mediation or arbitration by special agency set up by mutual agreement for the purpose, or by agreed reference to some appropriate international body recognised by both of them. It is their earnest hope as well as their firm conviction that the implementation of this declaration in the spirit which lies behind it will serve to maintain good relations between the two countries and advance the cause of world peace." Pakistan did not agree.

In 1960, when India and Pakistan agreed to participate in the funding and the engineering tasks of a World Bank plan financially assisted by Britain and nine other countries for the sharing of the disputed waters of the Indus and its tributaries, to provide irrigation and power supplies which would benefit both the countries of the sub-continent, it appeared as if the period of confrontation was over. This was not to be. Early in 1965, Pakistan forces entered the Kutch region of Gujarat in an attempt to settle by force a dispute over the Gujarat-Sind border. This was apparently a diversionary move preparatory to the full-scale attack on Kashmir which Pakistan launched in the autumn of 1965. Even during the third round of hostilities,

provoked by the second attack on Kashmir, India refrained from widening the war to the eastern wing of Pakistan.

At Tashkent, where the Soviet leaders invited the Prime Minister of India and President of Pakistan for talks following the cessation of the 1965 hostilities, Lal Bahadur Shastri for India and Ayub Khan for Pakistan signed a joint declaration on January 10, 1966, which again held out hope of a new era of peace in the sub-continent. The Tashkent declaration ruled out interference in the internal affairs of each other and called for the discouragement of any propaganda directed against the other country. It envisaged further meetings "both at the highest and at other levels" on matters of direct concern to the two countries. There was no agreement on Kashmir, with each of the sides setting forth its respective position against the background of a shared feeling that "the interests of peace in their region and particularly in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent and, indeed, the interests of the peoples of India and Pakistan, were not served by the continuance of tension between the two countries."

Mrs. Indira Gandhi, who became Prime Minister of India following Lal Bahadur Shastri's death at Tashkent, declared in her first broadcast after assuming office: "We shall implement it (the Tashkent Declaration) fully, in letter and in spirit."

The present Prime Minister, Mr Morarji Desai, reaffirmed India's offer of a no-war pact with Pakistan in the course of a Press conference at Srinagar in June 1977.

Emergence of Bangladesh

Under pressure from the major political parties of the western wing as well as the more populous eastern wing of Pakistan, President Yahya Khan held the country's first general elections on universal adult franchise towards the end of 1970. But the results were drowned in blood.

The National Awami Party of East Pakistan, led by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, won all but two of the 169 seats in the provincial Assembly and an absolute majority in the National Assembly of Pakistan. Mr. Rahman should in the normal course have become the first democratically elected Prime Minister of Pakistan. The prospect was unacceptable to the ob-

garchy in West Pakistan which had ruled for more than two decades, dominating the civil services and the armed forces and appropriating the revenue derived from the eastern region, including the foreign exchange earnings from jute export, for the benefit of a few wealthy families in West Pakistan. The People's Party led by Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, which had emerged as the main popular force in West Pakistan, served the interests of the oligarchy by refusing to attend the National Assembly without a prior agreement on the extent of autonomy to be enjoyed by East Pakistan. This was an attempt to veto the popular mandate already won by the National Awami Party, whose election manifesto iucluded regional autonomy in order to protect the material and cultural interests of the eastern wing including the promotion of Bengali, the language of its people which had been supplanted from its rightful place by Urdu, the official language imposed by the successive Pakistan regimes based in the western wing.

The National Awami Party's demand for autonomy turned into a movement for total independence as Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was arrested early in 1971 and a reign of terror was let loose in East Pakistan by the Army. Fleeing from this terror, millions of refugees began to cross into India's West Bengal. They included members of the Hindu minority in East Pakistan as well as Muslims, Christians and Buddhists. The Pakistan Army's brutal tactics were intensified as the liberation movement grew in East Pakistan. The refugee influx into India reached the staggering total of 10 million men, women and children towards the close of the year, imposing an intolerable strain on India's financial and administrative resources While extending humanitarian relief to the refugees. India made known its abhorrence of the suppression of democracy in Pakistan and its sympathy and support for the liberation movement in Bangladesh—the new name given to East Pakistan by the liberation movement when it proclaimed independence.

On December 3, 1971, the armed forces of Pakistan struck against India in a desperate effort to retrieve the impossible situation of Bangladesh. This only hastened the liberation of Bangladesh, whose freedom fighters assisted by the Indian Army brought about the surrender of Pakistan's forces at Dacca on December 16. During the hostilities sparked by Pakistan's

land-cum-air attack of December 3, Indian forces penetrated deeper into West Pakistan than vice versa. Yet, with the accomplishment of the liberation of Bangladesh, India desired no prolongation of the conflict and announced a unilateral ceasefire. In June 1972, at India's initiative, a summit meeting took place at Simla between Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and President Bhutto where the first steps for the restoration of normal relations between the two countries were initiated. The release of prisoners-of-war in terms of the Simla Agreement was followed by the restoration of postal and communication links between India and Pakistan and, in November 1974, by a protocol on the resumption of trade on a most-favoured-nation basis.

The ordeal through which Bangladesh had to pass before attaining democratic self-government, nearly twenty-five years after it became a part (or 'colony' in the words of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman) of Pakistan, illustrated the wisdom of the leaders of Muslim-majority Kashmir in opting for union with democratic India in preference to Pakistan. What Sheikh Abdullah said in 1951 proved prophetic: "The real character of a State is revealed in its Constitution. The Indian Constitution has amply and finally repudiated the concept of a religious State, which is a throw-back to medievalism, by guaranteeing the equality of rights of all citizens irrespective of their religion, colour, caste and class...This (Pakistan's) claim of being a Muslim State is only a camouflage. It is a screen to dupe the common man, so that he may not see clearly that Pakistan is a feudal State in which a clique is trying by these methods to maintain itself in power."

It was disappointing enough to India that, during the long and painful months of 1971 when the freedom fighters of Bangladesh were waging an unequal battle against the Pakistan Army equipped with Western and Chinese arms, and when India's economy and administration were being overwhelmed by the influx of millions of refugees, the allies of Pakistan—even those pledged ostensibly to the values of freedom and democracy—did not exert pressure on the regime in Rawalpindi to respect the verdict of the first free elections held in Pakistan. Public opinion in India was outraged when the U.S. Administration ordered the movement of the aircraft-carrier 'Enterprise' into the Bay of Bengal at the height of the Bangladesh hostilities.

In contrast to the break-up of Pakistan under the weight of the internal contradictions caused by the denial of democracy, the working of Indian democracy attracted a new adherent in April 1975 when the popularly elected Assembly of Sikkim, a small Himalayan kingdom which used to be a protectorate of India, voted the abolition of its monarchy and asked for admission to the Indian Union. A referendum confirmed the Assembly's resolution by 59,637 votes in favour and 1,496 against.

Relations with China

The history of relations between India and China span two millennia. There was a regular stream of Buddhist missionaries from India to China, beginning in 65 A.D. with Kashyapa Matanga who was followed by such scholars as Kumarajiva, Dharma Kshema and Paramartha. In the other direction, the movement of scholars brought numerous Chinese visitors to India. Of these the best known are Fa Hien, Hiuan-tsang and I-tsing, whose records of travel form an important part of the source material of India's social and political history.

Owing to political vicissitudes in both countries, these contacts became less frequent after the 11th century. However, India's relations with Tibet, which adjoins the greater length of India's northern frontier, continued uninterrupted. Border trade with India across the Himalayan mountain passes was important for the Tibetan economy. There was also a considerable pilgrim traffic. Mount Kailas and Lake Manasarovar in Tibet have through the ages been among the holiest places of pilgrimage for Hindus. Likewise Sarnath, Gaya and Sanchi in India were sacred places of pilgrimage for Buddhists from Tibet.

Relations between India and China became more active again early in this century, with the establishment of the Chinese Republic in 1911 and the growth of the nationalist movement in India. Rabindranath Tagore's visit to China in 1924 was symbolic of the renewed relationship, which had its basis not only in shared cultural values but also in a common resistance to foreign imperialism. When the Chinese Hall of Vishva Bharati,

the university founded by Tagore at Santiniketan, was inaugurated in April 1937, Jawaharlal Nehru greeted the ceremony, "great in the memories of the long past that it invokes, great also in the promise of future comradeship and the forging of new links to bring China and India nearer to each other. What a long past that has been, of friendly contacts and mutual influences, untroubled by political conflict and aggression! We have traded in ideas, in art, in culture, and grown richer in our own inheritance by the other's offering."

Following the full-scale invasion of China by Japan, the Indian National Congress gave concrete expression to its solidarity with the Chinese people by sending a medical relief mission. Nationalist opinion in India took no sides in the dispute between the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Party. But there was sympathetic understanding of the social aims of the Chinese Communists, and the hope was entertained that both sides could co-operate to expel the aggressor and usher in a democratic and progressive system after the war.

When the alliance between the Kuomintang and the Communists broke up after the war and the Communists overthrew the Chiang Kai-shek Government, India was among the first countries of the world to recognise the new Government of the People's Republic of China. As Nehru explained subsequently : "When the revoluti n came within two or three years of our independence, we discussed this matter with our Ambassador there and others concerned. It was clear that this w is no palace revolution but a basic revolution involving millions and millions of human beings. It was a stable revolution with strength behind it and popularity behind it We came to the conclusion that this Government should be recognised, and within two or three months we did recognise it."

India's leaders did not allow their policy to be influenced by the fact that Prime Minister Nehru and his colleagues had been attacked bitterly by the new leaders of China as "running dogs of imperialism", and that the Central Government's police action in 1948 to control lawlessness in Hyderabad had been described by Peking as an act of aggression against the exploited masses. (Radio Moscow had been speaking on the same lines, and India showed similar forbearance.) The Indian Government believed that the new leaders of China were out of touch with

developments in Asia and hoped that, given time, they would secure a true understanding of events. India's leaders were not only eager to revive the friendly contacts between the two peoples that went back to antiquity; they believed that Sino-Indian friendship was necessary for peace in Asia and the world.

On January 1, 1950, Chairman Mao Tse-tung proclaimed the "liberation of three million Tibetans from imperialist aggression" as a basic task of the People's Liberation Army of China. This showed that the Government of China meant to enforce its authority in the vast and rugged territory lying between India and China proper. Without denying or challenging the suzerainty of China over Tibet, the Indian Government expressed the hope that the matter would be settled peacefully and that Tibet would be able to maintain the autonomy which it had enjoyed for at least the previous forty years. It added that "the recognised boundary between India and Tibet should remain inviolate."

Chinese troops entered Tibet on October 7, 1950. The Government of India drew the attention of the Government of China to the harmful effects of resorting to military action, as it meant postponement of the admission of the People's Government to the U.N. as well as unrest and disturbance on India's borders. India had at that time initiated the effort, which she persistently continued, to secure representation for the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. India was of the view that unless the U.N. included representatives of the effective Government of such a large segment of the world's population, in would be difficult for the world organisation to ensure stability and peaceful settlement of disputes. Peking's answer was to accuse India of "having been affected by foreign influences hostile to China in Tibet." Jawaharlal Nehru expressed surprise at this unwarranted allegation, and reiterated the "well-meant advice by a friendly foreign government which has a natural interest in the solution of problems concerning its neighbours by peaceful means." As it turned out, Tibetan leaders had to agree to Peking's terms, and they signed an agreement on May 23, 1951. Within eight years the Dalai Lama was to flee Lhasa and seek asylum in India.

When some members of the Congress party joined the

non-Communist opposition in expressing dismay at the Chinese action in Tibet, Nehru asked whether it was suggested that India should have gone to war with China over Tibet. He said: "Many things happen in the world which we do not like, and which we would wish were rather different, but we do not go like Don Quixote with lance in hand against everything that we dislike. We put up with these things because we would, without making any difference, merely get into trouble."

India did not allow her policy of friendship towards China to be affected by the suspicious and intemperate attitude of China on the Tibetan issue. This friendship was displayed during the Korean crisis which developed in 1950. India had voted in favour of United Nations action against North Korea, but when China entered the Korean War at the end of the year India resisted the move in the United Nations to condemn China as an aggressor because India did not want the area of hostilities to be enlarged. As part of the effort to bring about a settlement, India served as a channel of communication of Chinese intentions and requirements to the outside world. Mid-1953 saw the end of the Korean crisis and the establishment of a Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission, with India as Chairman, to deal with the prisoners of war.

On December 31, 1953, negotiations began at Peking, on the initiative of India, on relations between the two countries. India hoped that friendship and co-operation with China would be strengthened by settling all outstanding issues which had been inherited from the past. A Sino-Indian Agreement on Trade and Intercourse between Tibet and India was signed on April 29, 1954, and ratified on June 3. Under this Agreement, India gave up all the extra-territorial rights enjoyed in Tibet by the British Government of India and recognised that Tibet was a region of China. The Agreement, which was to be in force for eight years, specified trade agencies, markets and pilgrim routes and laid down regulations for trade and intercourse across the border. In the Preamable of the Agreement the two countries affirmed that they would abide by the Five Principles of (i) mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty; (ii) mutual non-aggression; (iii) mutual non-interference in each other's internal affairs; (iv) equality and mutual benefit; and (v) peaceful co-existence. . Premier Chou En-lai was given a warm reception

when he visited Delhi in June 1954 at the invitation of the Indian Government

Events were to show very shortly that while India took the Five Principles or the *Panch Sheel* seriously as a code of international morality, to China they were but a temporary device of diplomacy.

Within a few weeks of Chou En-lai's visit, in July 1954, the Chinese lodged a protest against the presence of Indian troops in Barahoti (which they called Wu-Je) in the Indian State of Uttar Pradesh. This was the beginning of the dispute over the Indo-Tibetan border from Ladakh in the west to the north-east frontier which was to culminate in the Sino-Indian armed conflict of 1962.

China started adopting a hostile attitude towards India, extending support to the feudal-militarist regime of Pakistan on the Kashmir issue as well as in its war against the people of Bangladesh. China has been encouraging and actively assisting the rebel elements in Mizoram and Nagaland. In 1975, when the people of Sikkim decided through a referendum to join India, China chose to describe it as Indian expansionism. New Delhi was constrained to point out "It is evident that Chinese policy in South Asia is to disturb the stability and peace of the region and to encourage disagreement and suspicion among the countries of the region to serve this purpose. India on its part has refrained from interfering in the internal affairs of China and striven to improve relations with China."

In an interview on the eve of India's twenty-fifth Republic anniversary in January 1975, the correspondent of the British Broadcasting Corporation asked Prime Minister Indira Gandhi: "Don't you think that your close relations with Russia are standing in the way of reconciliation with China, which is equally important?" Mrs. Gandhi replied: 'Well, that is the excuse that China sometimes makes. But we have made it very clear that our friendship with the Soviet Union does not interfere with friendship with anybody else, whether it is China or the United States or any other country, and this was made clear even in our agreement with them, and there is no reason why it should. After all, other countries—take the United States—are trying to be friendly with the U.S.S.R. and yet they are friendly with China."

In 1976 the first step towards the normalisation of Sino-Indian relations was taken with the two countries restoring diplomatic relations at ambassador's level. This was followed by the restoration of trade links, though the volume of transactions is still small. The new Prime Minister, Mr. Morarji Desai, has stated that Sino-Indian relations are "on the road to improvement."

Disarmament and Peaceful Uses of Nuclear Energy

Recognising that the origin of wars is in the minds of men, and acutely aware of the threat of mass destruction and of genetic and ecological damage through the nuclear weapons developed during and since the second world war, Jawaharlal Nehru advocated the cultivation of the temper of peace as well as disarmament as the eventual foundations of world peace.

In a broadcast from London in January 1951 he said: "I am not a pacifist. Unhappily, the world of today finds that it cannot do without force. We have to protect ourselves and to prepare ourselves for every contingency. We have to meet aggression and evil of other kinds. To surrender to evil is always bad. But in resisting evil we must not allow ourselves to be swept away by our own passions and fears and act in a manner which is itself evil. Even in resisting evil and aggression we have always to maintain the temper of peace and hold out the hand of friendship to those who, through fear or for other reasons, may be opposed to us. That is the lesson that our great leader Mahatma Gandhi taught us and, imperfect as we are, we draw inspiration from that great teaching."

India has consistently advocated disarmament in respect of conventional as well as nuclear weapons, for safeguarding peace as well as for enabling the diversion of resources, in money and skills, from unproductive outlay on arms to the building of a better life for the people of the world through self-help and development assistance.

From the beginning, however, India has stood out against Great Power dominance in the name of disarmament, specially in respect of the application of nuclear energy for peaceful uses such as generation of electricity, or medical and agricultural research.

Jawaharlal Nehru said in the Indian Parliament in May 1954, "The use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes is far more important for a country like India whose power resources are limited, than for a country like France, an industrially advanced country. Take the United States of America, which already has vast power resources of other kinds. To have an additional source of power like atomic energy does not mean very much for them. No doubt they can use it, but it is not so indispensable for them as for a power-starved or power hungry country like India or like most of the other countries in Asia and Africa .. We are prepared in this, as in any other matter, even to limit, in common with other countries, our independence of action for the common good of the world. We are prepared to do that, provided we are assured that it is for the common good of the world and not exercised in a partial way, and not dominated over by certain countries, however good their intentions."

It was in line with this approach that India was among the first to subscribe in 1963 to the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty which prohibited under-sea and atmospheric nuclear explosions that are highly pollutant and a hazard to human health. Unlike this treaty, which was non-discriminatory and universal in application, the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty of 1968, sponsored by the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R., sought to impose unequal obligations on nuclear-weapon and non-nuclear-weapon countries. It permitted the nuclear weapon States to continue underground test explosions for the development of their weapons, but sought to bar other countries from conducting underground explosions whether for warlike or for peaceful purposes.

The former Indian Government headed by Mrs. Indira Gandhi was of the view that nuclear energy could be utilised not only for power generation and in the fields of medicine and agriculture but also, through underground explosions, for blasting rock formations to regulate river flows and to assist in mineral extraction. Accordingly, a controlled underground test explosion was conducted in the Rajasthan desert in May 1974. In contrast, the new Govenment formed after the March 1977 elections is of the view that peaceful applications of nuclear energy need not and should not include nuclear explosions. Mr. Morarji Desai said in the Lok Sabha in July 1977 that while

India would not sign any non-proliferation treaty so long as it was discriminatory, there was no question of any further explosion. The Prime Minister reaffirmed in the course of an interview to a Japanese correspondent in November 1977: "How can I make any explosions when I do not want explosions to take place anywhere? I must set an example."

India's commitment to peace is evident from the sustained efforts to restore good-neighbourly relations even with countries with whom she has been involved in armed conflict, and the contribution she has made to peace-keeping efforts the world over. India's foreign policy continues to be informed by the ethos of the Buddha, Asoka and Gandhi. Jawaharlal Nehru summed it up in the course of his address to the United Nations General Assembly in October 1960: "Good will not emerge out of evil methods. That was the lesson which our great leader Gandhi taught us, and though we in India have failed in many ways in following his advice, something of his message still clings to our minds and hearts. In ages long past a great son of India, the Buddha, said that the only real victory was one in which all were equally victorious and there was defeat for no one. In the world today that is the only practical victory."

Appendix I

The National Anthem

The opening stanza of Rabindranath Tagore's song *Jana gana mana* was adopted as the National Anthem of India in January 1950. It was first sung in December 1911 at the Calcutta session of the Indian National Congress, and was translated by the poet into English in 1919. The stanza reads:

Jana-gana-mana-adhinayaka, jaya he
Bharata-bhagya-vidhata.
Punjaba-Sindhu-Gujarata-Maratha-
Dravida-Utkala-Banga
Vindhya-Himachala-Yamuna-Ganga
Uchchhala-Jaladhi-taranga
Tava subha name jage,
Tava subha asisa mage,
Gahe tava jaya-gatha.
Jana-gana-mangala-dayaka, jaya he
Bharata-bhagya-vidhata
Jaya he, jaya he, jaya he,
Jaya jaya jaya, jaya he.

The following is Tagore's English rendering of the stanza:

Thou art the ruler of the minds of all people,
Thou dispenser of India's destiny.

Thy name rouses the hearts of the Punjab, Sind,
Gujarat and Maratha, of Dravid, Orissa and Bengal.
It echoes in the hills of the Vindhyas and Himalayas,
mingles in the music of the Jamuna and Ganges
and is chanted by the waves of the Indian Sea.
They pray for thy blessings and sing thy praise.
The saving of all people waits in thy hand,
Thou dispenser of India's destiny.
Victory, Victory, Victory to thee.

APPENDIX II

States and Union Territories

STATES

(with principal languages in brackets)	Population (1971 Census)	Capital
1. Uttar Pradesh (Hindi)	88,341,144	Lucknow
2. Bihar (Hindi)	56,353,369	Patna
3. Maharashtra (Marathi)	50,412,235	Bombay
4. West Bengal (Bengali)	44,312,011	Calcutta
5. Andhra Pradesh (Telugu, Urdu)	43,502,708	Hyderabad
6. Madhya Pradesh (Hindi)	41,654,119	Bhopal
7. Tamil Nadu (Tamil)	41,199,168	Madras
8. Karnataka (Kannada)	29,299,140	Bangalore
9. Gujarat (Gujarati)	26,697,475	Gandhinagar
10. Rajasthan (Hindi, Rajasthani)	25,765,806	Jaipur
11. Orissa (Oriya)	21,944,615	Bhubaneswar
12. Kerala (Malayalam)	21,347,375	Trivandrum
13. Assam (Assamese, Bengali)	14,625,152	Dispur
14. Punjab (Punjabi)	13,551,060	Chandigarh
15. Haryana (Hindi)	10,036,808	Chandigarh
16. Jammu & Kashmir (Kashmiri, Urdu, Dogri, Ladakhi)	4,616,632	Srinagar

STATES

(with principal languages in brackets)	Population (1971 Census)	Capital
17. Himachal Pradesh (Hindi, Pahadi)	3,460,434	Simla
18. Tripura (Bengali, Tripuri)	1,556,342	Agartala
19. Manipur (Manipuri)	1,072,753	Imphal
20. Meghalaya (Khasi, Jaintia, Garo)	1,011,699	Shillong
21. Nagaland (Local dialects)	516,449	Kohima
22. Sikkim (Local dilalects, Nepalese)	208,609	Gangtok

UNION TERRITORIES

1. Delhi (Hindi)	4,065,698	Delhi
2. Goa, Daman & Diu (Konkani, Marathi, Gujarati)	857,771	Panaji
3. Pondicherry (Tamil)	471,707	Pondicherry
4. Arunachal Pradesh (Local dialects)	467,511	Itanagar
5. Mizoram (Mizo, English)	332,390	Aijal
6. Chandigarh (Hindi, Punjabi)	257,251	Chandigarh
7. Andaman & Nicobar Islands (Hindi)	115,133	Port Blair
8. Dadra & Nagar Haveli (Local dialects)	74,170	Silvassa
9. Lakshadweep (Malayalam, Mahal)	31,810	Kavaratti

Appendix III

Languages

The fifteen languages of India listed in Schedule VIII of the Constitution, with the number of speakers as ascertained in the 1971 Census, are as follows:

	Language	Speakers	
(1)	Hindi	162.57	million
(2)	Bengali	44.79	,,
(3)	Telugu	44.75	,,
(4)	Marathi	42.25	,,
(5)	Tamil	37.69	,,
(6)	Urdu	28.60	,,
(7)	Gujarati	25.87	,,
(8)	Malayalam	21.94	,,
(9)	Kannada	21.70	,,
(10)	Oriya	19.85	,,
(11)	Punjabi	16.44	,,
(12)	Assamese	8.95	,,
(13)	Kashmiri	2.43	,,
(14)	Sindhi	1.67	,,
(15)	Sanskrit	2212	persons

APPENDIX IV

Religions

At the 1971 Census the population of the major religious communities was as follows:

Hindus	453,292,086	(82.72%)
Muslims	61,417,934	(11.21%)
Christians	14,223,382	(2.60%)
Sikhs	10,378,797	(1.89%)
Buddhists	3,812,325	(0.70%)
Jains	2,604,646	(0.47%)
Others	2,220,639	(0.41%)
Total	547,949,809	

Appendix V

Some Indicators of Economic Growth

AGRICULTURE

The area under cultivation in 1974-75 had increased by 8.7% compared to 1960-61, and agricultural production by 36.8%, showing a 25.9% increase in yield per hectare.

Both foodgrains and cash crops have registered higher production, though among foodgrains there has been a decline in the production of pulses during drought years. Pulses are generally cultivated in dry lands without secure irrigation and dependent on rainfall.

Given below are comparative figures of production of the principal crops:

	Unit	1955-56	1975-76
Foodgrains			
Rice	Million tonnes	28.65	49.46
Wheat	,,	8.87	28.33
Other cereals	,,	20.11	29.91
Pulses	,,	11.71	13.14

	Unit	1955-56	1975-76
Other crops			
Groundnut	Million tonnes	3.68	6.99
Other oilseeds	,,	1.82	3.18
Sugarcane in terms of *Gur* (jaggery)	,,	7.43	14.71
Cotton (lint)	Million bales (bale = 170 kgs.)	4.22	6.10
Jute	Million bales (bale = 180 kgs.)	4.47	4.44

The increase in the consumption of fertilisers is illustrated by the following figures :

(in '000 tonnes of nutrient)

	1955-56	1975-76
Production of nitrogenous fertilisers	80	1,535
Import of nitrogenous fertilisers	54	950
Total availability	134	2,485

	1955-56	1975-76
Production of phosphatic fertilisers	12	327
Import of phosphatic fertilisers	—	337
Total availability	12	664
Import of potassic fertilisers (there is no local production)	10	267

The production of crude oil increased from 451,000 tonnes in 1960, all of it on-shore, to 8,659,000 tonnes in 1976, including 228,000 tonnes of off-shore production at Bombay High. Domestic production now meets more than one-third of the present level of crude oil requirement.

INDUSTRY

The following table gives the figures of production in selected industries :

	Unit	1960-61	1975-76
Electricity generation (public utilities only)	Billion Kwh.	16.9	79.9
Coal	Million tonnes	55.7	102.7
Iron ore	,,	11.0	42.0
Steel ingots	,,	3.42	7.25
Aluminium (virgin metal)	'000 tonnes	18.3	178.7
Copper (virgin metal)	,,	8.5	23.9
Machine tools	Value in Rs. million	70	1,137
Commercial automobile vehicles	'000 nos.	28.4	43.7
Cars, jeeps	,,	26.6	28.9
Motor cycles, scooters	,,	19.4	181.8
Diesel engines (stationary)	,,	44.7	136.0
Bicycles	,,	1,071	2,332
Electric fans	,,	1,059	2,139
Electric lamps	Million nos.	43.5	136.9
Radio receivers	'000 nos.	282	1,523
Sulphuric acid	'000 tonnes	368	1,416
Paper and paper board	,,	350	836
Cement	Million tonnes	8.0	17.2
Refined petroleum products	,,	5.8	21.1
Cotton cloth	Million metres	6,738	8,091
Sugar	'000 tonnes	3,029	4,635
Tea	Million kgs.	322	475
Coffee	'000 tonnes	54.1	90.7

APPENDIX VI

Suggested Reading

Prehistoric India by Stuart Piggott, Cassell, London

A Source Book in Indian Philosophy ed. S. Radhakrishnan and Charles A. Moore, Princeton University Press, Oxford University Press.

Sources of Indian Tradition compiled by Theodore de Bary, etc., Columbia University Press; Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi.

The Upanishads: An Anthology by D. S. Sarma, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay

The Six Systems of Indian Philosophy by Max Mueller, Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series office, Varanasi

A New History of Sanskrit Literature by Krishna Chaitanya, Asia Publishing House, Bombay

A History of Tamil Literature by C. Jesudasan and Hephzibah Jesudasan, Y.M.C.A. Publishing House, Calcutta

A Profile of Indian Culture by Krishna Chaitanya, Indian Book Company, New Delhi.

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The Discovery of India by Jawaharlal Nehru, Meridian Books, London; Signet Press, Calcutta.

A History of the Freedom Movement in India (4 vol.) by Dr Tara Chand Publications Division, Patiala House, New Delhi

India 1976 A Reference Annual, Publications Division, Patiala House, New Delhi.

Economic Survey 1976-77 Government of India, Publications Department, Delhi

Indian Women, ed. Devaki Jain, Publications Division, Patiala House, New Delhi

The Heritage of Indian Art by V.S. Agrawala, Publications Division, Patiala House, New Delhi

Aspects of Indian Music, Publications Division Patiala House, New Delhi.

Indian Dance by Kapila Vatsyayan, Publications Division, Patiala House, New Delhi.

Handicrafts of India by Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay, Indian Council for Cultural Relations, Azad Bhawan, New Delhi.